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ABSTRACT

This report discusses the structural conditions under which organizational development (OD), as employed in the school systems of the United States and Canada, is more or less applicable to schools. The first section (chapters 1-6) reviews papers and books, concerning either OD in general or the ways in which the ideas of OD have been used in the field of education. Chapter 1 concerns OD in general, while chapter 2 consists largely of a review of the "state of the art" paper on OD in schools published by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor in 1980. In chapter 3, articles critical of OD are considered, and, in chapter 4, a selection of empirical studies of OD are examined. The activities developed by Richard Schmuck and Philip Runkel in Eugene, Oregon (the "Mecca" of school OD) are outlined in chapter 5. Chapter 6 consists of a review of the paper in which Schmuck discusses the future of school-based OD. Chapter 7 consists of commentary on the first six chapters, from which nine conclusions about school OD are derived. In chapter 8, the argument is presented that the effectiveness of OD is dependent on the control structure in which the school operates. This conclusion is the subject of a commentary in chapter 9 by Matthew Miles and Michael Fullan. A four-page bibliography concludes the report. (TE)

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OD IN NORTH AMERICAN SCHOOLS

A Scandinavian view

With comments by
Matthew Miles and Michael Fullan

Uppsala Reports on Education, No. 20

Translated from the Swedish by Martin Naylor

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PREFACE

This report, written within the framework of the SIAu and SABO projects*, deals with the change strategy OD (organization development) as employed in the school systems of the United States and Canada. The aim of the report is to *discuss the structural conditions under which OD is applicable or less applicable to schools*. Other papers on OD in schools rarely regard contextual factors as crucial independent variables, tending to deal with them as if they were of minor importance in this connection. That is to say, they view OD as a structure-independent change strategy (cf. the views of Matthew Miles in the final chapter of this report). Criticism levelled at OD by advocates of this view (see, for example, that of Derr and Blumberg, presented later) often takes the form of general objections to OD; rarely do critical scrutinies of OD relate to the various contextual frameworks within which schools as institutions have to operate.

To be able to establish the structural prerequisites of school-based OD, we require a fairly clear and unambiguous picture of what the change strategy OD involves when used in the school context. This clarification is in turn dependent on our framing certain theoretically based postulates about OD. The conclusions of chapter 7 - which are derived from the points raised in chapters 1 - 6 - embody a number of such postulates.

As was indicated above, this report confines itself to OD in the schools

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* The *SIAu Project* (a follow-up of the 'Internal Work of Schools' (SIA) reform) is a five-year project funded by the Swedish National Board of Education. It is now in its fourth year. Its purpose is to follow up the changes Swedish primary and lower secondary schools have undergone as a result of the SIA reform and the new curriculum for the compulsory comprehensive school, published in 1980. One of the questions we are trying to answer is whether the fundamental aims of the reform have been achieved in the day-to-day work of schools. The *SABO Project* (on work organization in schools) is financed by the Swedish Work Environment Fund. It started this budget year and will run for a total of three years. The questions being considered as part of this project include: What are the features of existing work organization in schools and why are they as they are? What are the features of 'ideal' work organization? In what ways can work organization in schools be developed?

of North America. It does not concern itself with OD as employed in the Swedish education system. The reasons for this are, first, that OD in Swedish schools is already fairly well documented (e.g. Lander, 1978; Hultman, 1981) and, second, that there is in my opinion little fundamental difference between school-based OD in North America and that in Sweden.

The manuscript of this report has been discussed at two seminars. The first was at the Department of Education, University of Linköping, in December 1983 and the second at the Department of Education, University of Uppsala, in January 1984. My thanks go to those participating in these seminars, some of whose views have been incorporated in the final version of the report. I am particularly grateful to Magnus Söderström and Erik Wallin for their valuable comments and suggestions.

Uppsala, June 1984

Gunnar Berg

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INTRODUCTION

This report comprises a review section (chapters 1 - 6) and a discussion section (chapters 7 - 9). In the first section I shall review a number of papers and books dealing either with OD in general or with the ways in which the ideas of OD have been used in the field of education. Rather than review a large number of sources superficially, I shall examine a limited number in greater detail. One of my aims has been to select writings that can be regarded as 'setting the tone' for American school-based OD. I have also tried to choose papers etc. that shed light on the question of OD's applicability to schools from as many angles as possible. In addition to these reviews of research findings, the empirical basis of this report includes a number of interviews. Most of them were conducted on a visit to the 'Mecca' of school OD, Eugene, Oregon, in November 1982. The report also contains extracts from an interview with Wendell French, conducted in Seattle, Washington State, on the same visit to the United States. Matthew Miles was interviewed in Stockholm in October 1982, and Michael Fullan's comments were made at a seminar held in Uppsala the same month.

The various aspects of OD as employed in education which are dealt with in this report are indicated by the chapter headings. Chapter 1 deals with OD in general, while chapter 2 consists largely of a review of the 'state of the art' paper on OD in schools published by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor in 1980. In the third chapter a number of articles critical of OD are considered and in the fourth a selection of empirical studies of OD are examined. The activities which have been built up by Dick Schmuck and Phil Runkel in Eugene, Oregon, are outlined in the fifth chapter. In chapter 6 I go on to review a paper in which Schmuck discusses the future of school-based OD. In chapter 7 I comment on the first six chapters, winding up with nine conclusions on OD in schools. In chapter 8 the discussion of the preceding chapters is tied in with the chief aim of this report. The argument is put forward that the change strategy OD is dependent on what can be called the control structure in which the school operates. The conclusions I arrive at in this chapter are commented on in chapter 9 by Matthew Miles and Michael Fullan. Miles also outlines his views on some of the nine conclusions about OD which are presented at the end of chapter 7.

1 ON OD IN GENERAL

1.1 Introduction

An industrial company is ultimately controlled by the market in which its operations are located. If it is to survive, it must be able to recognize rapidly indicators of changes in market forces which are of relevance to it. In other words, a company has to evolve as high a capacity to adapt to its market as possible. This in turn presupposes that the company has a flexible internal organizational structure with effective channels of communication and decision-making systems.

Organizational phenomena in a firm with this kind of control structure can be explained and understood from a systems theory point of view. Briefly, this approach regards an organization as a system whose technological and social components are in constant interaction. Underlying systems theory are such concepts as adaptation, feedback, differentiation, and homeostasis (cf. Gouldner, 1961). An organization is viewed as a complex whole that can be divided into a number of subsystems striving to achieve some form of dynamic equilibrium (cf. Buckley, 1967). A change in one subsystem results in some kind of change or adaptation in the others (cf. Katz & Kahn, 1966).

Closely allied to the systems philosophy is the organic model of organization, introduced by Burns & Stalker (1961) and contrasted by these authors with the traditional mechanistic model as follows:

Mechanistic organization	Organic organization
Functional specialization	A network structure of communication, control, and authority
Strict hierarchical division of tasks	Control through community of interest with the firm
Precise definition of the rights and obligations of organization members	Management seen as a co-ordinator rather than a giver of commands
Paths of communication follow the 'official channels' principle	Paths of communication steered by needs rather than formalities

Fig. 1:1 Mechanistic and organic organization (based on Burns & Stalker, 1961)

The organic form of organization meets firms' needs for effective channels of communication and more informal decision-making procedures. The upsurge of interpersonal relations and group dynamics training of one kind or another can be seen in the light of the dependence of this organizational form on organization members being able to act independently within frameworks that were constantly changing in response to the market forces governing organizations' activities.

1.2 Organization development - OD

Organization development - OD - is a change strategy whose theoretical platform has a foundation of systems theory and social psychology and which can be regarded as a technological application of the systems approach to organizations. I shall attempt here to outline the substance of this change strategy, beginning by quoting from the works of some of the leading figures in the American OD movement, namely Warren G. Bennis, whose book *Organization Development* appeared at the end of the 1960s, and Wendell French and Cecil Bell, who published a book with the same title in the early 1970s.

Bennis (1969) believes that OD has certain fundamental characteristics:

(1) '... it is an *educational strategy* adopted to bring about a *planned organizational change*.'

(2) '... the changes sought for are coupled directly with the *exigency* or demand the organization is trying to cope with. In rare cases... it is a matter of survival; in other... cases, it is a new and rapidly expanding enterprise... facing a "destination crisis".'

(3) '... relies on an educational strategy which emphasizes *experienced behavior*.'

(4) '... *change agents are* for the most part... *external to the client system*.'

(5) '... implies a *collaborative relationship* between change agent and constituents of the client system.'

(6) '... change agents share a *social philosophy*... about the world in general and human organizations in particular which... largely govern their responses to client systems.'

(7) '... change agents share a set of *normative goals* based on their philosophy.' (pp. 10 - 15, italics in original)

In his book, Bennis argues that the OD approach is directly related to the principles of the organic model of organizations, and consequently rejects the mechanistic view.

The Americans French and Bell, whose book *Organization Development* is something of a Bible to supporters of OD, define OD as follows:

> In the behavioral science, and perhaps ideal, sense of the term, *organization development is a long-range effort to improve an organization's problem-solving and renewal processes, particularly through a more effective and collaborative management of organization culture - with special emphasis on the culture of formal work teams - with the assistance of a change agent, or catalyst, and the use of the theory and technology of applied behavioral science, including action research.* (1973, p. 15, italics in original)

This definition is taken a step further in the diagram shown opposite (fig. 1:2).

The many facets of OD may, I feel, be summarized under the following headings:

- holistic view - including both the various administrative components of the organization and its staff resources;
- systems philosophy - relates to the above, the organization is viewed as a system whose various parts interact;
- situation dependence - as a matter of principle, there are no standard solutions; solutions must always be suited to the situation encountered;
- 'humanistic' view of people - emphasis on 'self-fulfilment' and 'participation';
- presence of change agents - one or more individuals are responsible for stimulating the actual change process;
- process strategy - emphasis on the value of the process itself to efforts to bring about change;
- consensus philosophy - 'at heart' people have certain common norms and values, and use should be made of these in a change project.

(Based on Berg, 1978, p. 92)

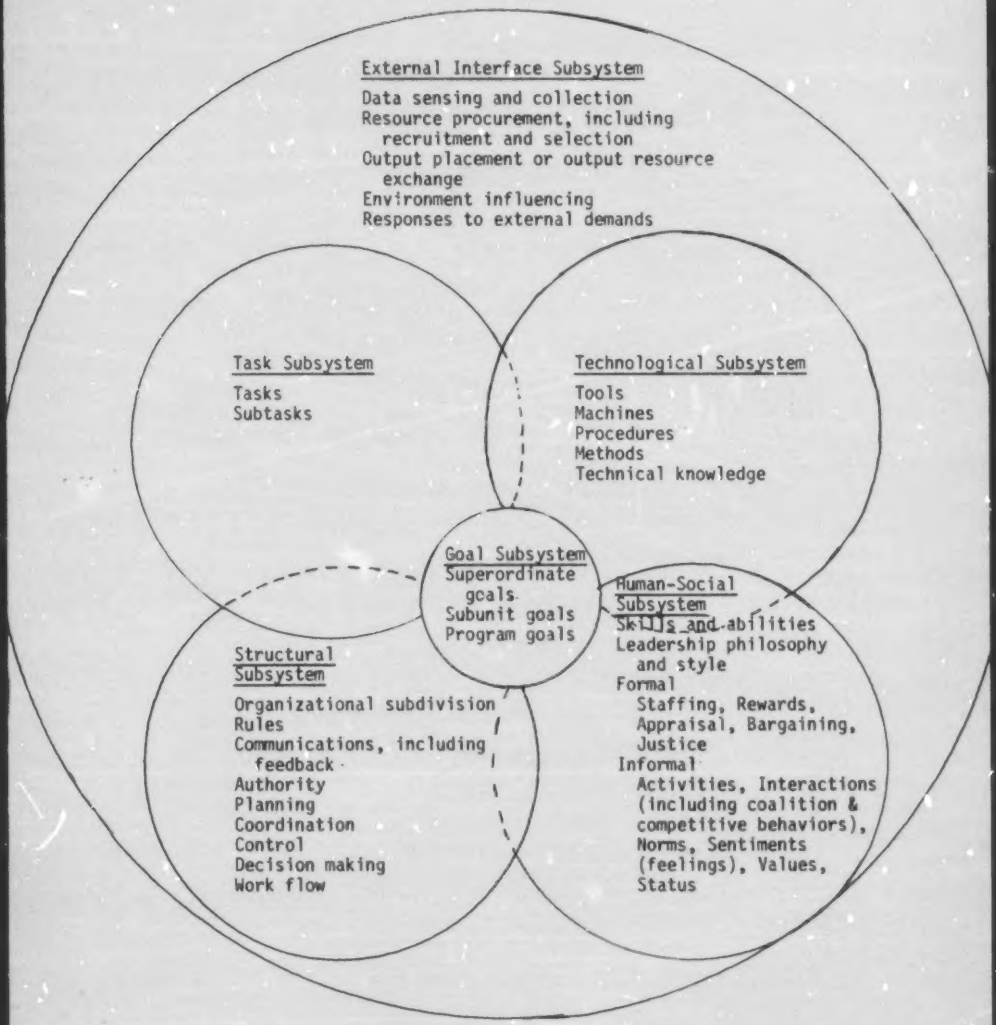

Figure 1:2 A socio-technical view of OD (from French & Bell, 1973, p. 78)

1.3 A brief history of OD in North America*

Broadly speaking it is possible to distinguish two different angles on OD in North America. One is the *social psychological* approach, which means that OD interventions concentrate almost exclusively on the 'human' activities of the organization. The other is the *socio-technical* approach, according to which OD efforts are not confined to the social subsystems of the organization but attention is also paid to its technological and administrative aspects. The social psychological emphasis derives from American small-group research, while the socio-technical angle was primarily developed by the English Tavistock school. Apart from these two main approaches, French (1982) discusses three 'trunk stems' in OD in the United States:

> [1] ... innovations in the application of laboratory training insights to complex organizations.
>
> [2] ... survey research and feedback methodology.
>
> [3] ... the emergence of action research. (French, 1982, p. 262)

1.3.1 Social psychological OD

OD has the same foundations as the human relations movement, which emerged in the United States in the late 1920s as a reaction to the stereotyped view of organization adopted by advocates of scientific management. Unlike the human relations researcher, however, the OD analyst is not content simply to be a spectator watching the process, but participates actively in the work of bringing about change. The social psychologist Kurt Lewin was without doubt one of the leading figures behind the ideas which paved the way for OD. On the basis of field theory, which was closely akin to German Gestalt psychology, Lewin conducted a great deal of research in the first half of this century into small groups and what was needed to change the attitudes, values, etc. of members of such groups. The well-known T-groups were probably a brain-child of Lewin. Lewin died in 1947 and a number of his pupils - including Kenneth Benne and Ronald Lippitt - founded the National

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* This account is based on French (1982) and Schmuck & Miles (1971).

Training Laboratory in Group Development (NTL) - a research and development institute initially devoting itself chiefly to T-group sessions of various kinds. Later the institute was also to provide training for OD consultants.

The traditional T-group* was composed of people from a range of different companies and other organizations. In the 1950s, however, a number of major firms in the United States began employing their own specialists in group dynamics to arrange in-company T-groups. In the late 1950s the Esso Company started a large-scale in-company OD programme which was to be of significance to the subsequent development of OD. Schmuck and Miles (1971) describe this as follows:

> In the late 1950's a major development occurred when the Esso Company, stimulated by applied behavioral scientists Paul Buchanan, Robert Blade, and Herbert Shepard, launched a large-scale program involving not only T-groups for 'cousins' (persons drawn from different parts of the same organization) within Esso refineries, but also training in problem-solving for teams of superiors and subordinates to help them to be more open, trusting, and effective in their work, and 'intergroup' labs for revealing, clarifying, and resolving conflicts between departments and divisions and between management and labor...
>
> The experience of the Esso program, which involved the recruitment and active participation of more than fifty competent T-group trainers, proved crucial. A group of experienced and capable consultants was developed who had seen for themselves that intensive group methods could have powerful and useful effects upon organizational improvement. The Esso program was also instrumental in inducing a half-dozen faculty members of the influential Harvard Business School to experiment with laboratory training methods and thus to open the way for change in the graduate instruction of future managers and, later, OD specialists. (pp. 4 - 5)

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* It seems to be difficult to find an unambiguous definition of the term 'T-group' (the T standing for 'training'). The following general definition given by the Swedish Council for Personnel Administration is probably as close as we can get:

> A T-group is a group set up to focus its members' attention on the processes taking place among them in the present situation, so that they can learn to sharpen their perception of their actual and potential behaviour and its consequences. Problems outside the group are avoided. Only processes within the group are dealt with. The focus is on problems 'here and now'. (PA-rådet, 1973, pp. 13-14, my translation)

The Esso intervention comprised elements of each of the three 'trunk stems' which according to French (see above) characterize the development of the American OD movement, i.e. laboratory training, survey research, and action research. It should also be noted that the OD programme at Esso clearly further strengthened co-operation between behavioural scientists and profit-making companies.

Before we leave the 1950s, I would like to make a further point. one which is not derived from the sources I am reviewing here. In 1957 Chris Argyris published his classic work *Personality and Organization*, which laid the foundations of a new school of organization theory, the fusion theory school. In his book, Argyris claims that the organization and the individual may make opposing demands, and only if their demands coincide reasonably closely (are 'fused') can the organization function satisfactorily. This hypothesis is, in my view, fundamental to the consensus philosophy on which OD rests. More about this later in the report.

In the 1960s many American multinationals were involved in OD programmes of varying size and scope. Managerial development became one branch of the OD movement. In this connection mention can be made of Douglas McGregor's book *The Human Side of Enterprise* from the beginning of the 1960s, in which the terms 'Theory X' and 'Theory Y' were coined. Blake and Mouton's book published in 1968, in which the 'Grid' model is elaborated, can also be mentioned here (see the original references for further details).

In the course of the 1960s and 1970s OD consultants in the United States became more and more established as professionals. This was the result of, on the one hand, more training of OD consultants by universities and institutes like the NTL and, on the other, the formation of a professional organization - an 'OD Network' - in the United States, on the initiative of the NTL. In addition, books and articles on OD reached a wide audience in the decades in question.

1.3.2 Socio-technical OD

The NTL and similar research and development institutes in North America, then, contributed a great deal to the growth of the OD movement. In

England the Tavistock Institute was of corresponding significance, and it was from the organization research carried on there that the 'socio-technical' school emerged.

The Tavistock Institute was founded in 1920 and initially provided psychotherapy for veterans of the First World War who were suffering from neuroses. The Institute later extended its work to include family therapy and organization consultation. The Institute's links with the armed forces continued during the Second World War in the form of various social psychological experiments on groups and group formation among military personnel.

The socio-technical school came into being as a result of a group of Tavistock researchers, led by Eric Trist and Fred Emery, conducting a series of studies of English coal-mines in the 1960s. The aim of these studies was to examine the relationship between the introduction of new technology and the social consequences of such technology, and they resulted in a better understanding of the connection between human and technological activities in organizations. Mabon (1973) summarizes this as follows:

> The Tavistock researchers concluded that an organization has to be regarded as a socio-technical system whose output necessitates activities in both the social and the technical systems. The term emphasizes that the dependence is mutual and entails an important rejection of the view that the social system has to be dependent on the technical. (p. 81, my translation)

It can be added that the socio-technical approach has an unmistakable affinity to von Bertalanffy's theory of open systems (see von Bertalanffy in Emery, 1969, for further details).

It would seem that the socio-technical variant of OD has become far more firmly rooted in Europe than in the United States. A typical socio-technical definition of OD is that given by the Norwegian Ebeltoft (1974):

> Activities which guarantee every member of an organization satisfactory conditions for full and appropriate participation. This optimization must be brought about simultaneously in the social and technical systems, i.e. so as to constitute a concerted (if gradual)

> improvement in work, structural, ideological, and co-operative aspects of the organization's activities. And, of course, it must be brought about in such a way as to maintain necessary interaction with the environment. (p. 44, my translation)

This conclusion is confirmed by the Harvard professor Larry Greiner, who feels that American OD has concentrated too much on

- techniques rather than the real development problems
- management rather than other employees of organizations
- 'here and now' solutions rather than historical perspectives
- internal dynamics rather than the influence of the environment
- facilitating adaptation to given strategies rather than establishing new goals
- informal values rather than formal structures.

(Greiner in Rohlin, 1974, my translation)

It should be noted, however, that French and Bell's earlier cited definition of OD (see 1.2) - unlike Bennis's, quoted in the introduction to this chapter - incorporates very clear elements of the socio-technical approach. This is made even clearer by the diagram quoted from French & Bell (1973) (fig. 1:2). On a visit to the United States in November 1981 I had the opportunity to interview French and to elicit his views on this issue.

Asked if it was reasonable to say that the OD pioneers placed more emphasis on group dynamics and the social aspects of organizations, while today's OD consultant works more on the organization as a whole, French replied:

> I think that the OD consultants of today are more aware, more cognizant of broader organizational problems and issues, and more skilled in terms of getting clients to look at options; but the effective ones in my judgement have not thrown away their skills in group dynamics, because I think that that is still the fundamental basis of the field.

Wendell French also believes that the view he and Cecil Bell put forward in their book, that OD is applied systems theory, still stands. In other words, he sees organizations as groups of interacting subsystems. In the socio-technical view, OD activities can be carried on in all

these subsystems, but, French points out, the platform of OD work is to be found in the social systems of organizations. In other words, according to French, OD takes as its starting point the social psychological activities of the organization, but when interventions take place in the social system, this has reverberations in the other parts of the organization, in line with systems theory, so that they too require OD attention. (The interview is presented in full (in a Swedish translation) in Berg & Söderström, 1983.)

Where, then, does OD stand today? The question is not easily answered. It is quite clear that the term OD is used less often now than it was ten years ago. But whether this means that the OD movement is on the decline or that OD activities have merely assumed a new guise is probably largely an empirical question (cf. Michael Fullan's views in chapter 9).

2 OD IN SCHOOLS - THE STATE OF THE ART

2.1 OD in American schools - a brief look back*

In the United States in the early 1960s OD ideas, previously employed in the business world, began to assume importance in non-profit organizations too. In 1961 the National Training Laboratories (NTL) started to arrange annual T-group sessions for educators of various kinds. Shortly after that Matthew Miles, at Columbia University, New York, launched a three-year OD project in collaboration with two school districts near New York and Pittsburgh. In 1965 a large-scale OD project - the Co-operative Project for Educational Development (COPED) - was started. Schmuck and Miles describe this project as follows:

> Teams based in the Boston area (Boston University and Lesley College) and the New York area (Teachers College, Columbia University; Yeshiva University; and Newark State College) and at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, and the University of Michigan collaborated through a consortium on the conceptualization, planning, and initiation of a well-studied effort to bring about self-renewing processes in twenty-three school districts. A jointly used instrument package was designed to test outcomes in all districts. The approaches varied considerably from district to district and area to area. For example, the Michigan teams concentrated primarily on the training of teachers and principals as internal change agents to aid other teachers and administrators via in-service education in problem-solving and in the effective, innovative use of research. The Boston team tested a similar strategy, plus a 'saturation' intervention with heavy use of outside consultants. The New York team emphasized survey data feedback as a basis for building effective top administrative teams through process consultation. The Chicago project emphasized process consultation and the creation of an internal change management group. This approach was also studied by the Wisconsin team. (1971, pp. 19 - 20)

For some reason funding for COPED was withdrawn at an early stage, and the project therefore never became the longitudinal study originally envisaged. Nevertheless, it did result in a large body of data being collected from the eighty schools involved. This data confirmed the hypothesis that the effectiveness of schools was linked to such factors as:

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* The following account is based on Schmuck & Miles (1971) and Schmuck (1982c).

- a high level of staff morale;
- a balanced division of labour between administrators and teachers;
- an ability to solve problems constructively at staff meetings, etc.;
- the degree of trust within and between staff groups.

There were many offshoots, on varying scales, from COPED (parts of which are reported on in Schmuck & Miles, 1971). Perhaps the most important step in the further development of OD ideas in the educational sphere was taken by Richard Schmuck and Philip Runkel of the University of Oregon, when, in 1967, they designed a research and development programme on OD in schools. In 1969 a paper by Schmuck, Runkel, and David Langmeyer (now at the University of Cincinatti), 'Improving organizational problem solving in a school faculty', won the Douglas McGregor Memorial Award. This distinction, one of the honours most sought after by American organizational researchers, is awarded annually by the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*. It was the first time the award had been made for an article on OD in schools, and to date it is the only time this has happened.

In the 1970s and 1980s the Oregon group, headed by Schmuck and Runkel, have been highly active in both research and consultancy. They have published a large number of books and papers, including two extensive handbooks (with a third currently in preparation), on OD in schools. Richard Schmuck has also worked as a researcher and consultant in several European countries. In Sweden he has evaluated the training programme for head teachers currently in progress. (For further details of the work of the 'Oregon group', see chapter 5 .)

Besides the projects initiated by Schmuck, Runkel, and Miles in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, a number of other North American researchers and consultants have helped to spread OD approaches in the field of education. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor have written a major survey of this work, which I shall review later in this chapter. Here I shall just mention the names of a few research workers who, alongside those I shall be discussing later in this report, have played an important part in spreading OD ideas in the field of education in the United States and Canada. They are Clayton Alderfer of Yale University (e.g.

1977), Frank Friedlander (e.g. 1976), and Michael Milstein, State University of New York (e.g. 1980). It should be added, though, that the number of authoritative researchers in the United States with a direct involvement in OD in schools is extremely limited, probably somewhere between twenty and thirty.

2.2 OD in schools: the American and European traditions

As was indicated earlier, the OD movement has its roots in the United States, where it began to develop soon after the Second World War under the influence of a social psychological approach going back to Lewin. School-based OD in the United States was pioneered by Matthew Miles, who initiated a number of projects in the early 1960s. There would thus appear to be little difficulty in discerning a fairly homogeneous American OD tradition. Making out a uniform European tradition raises far more problems. It is to this question that I shall now turn.

The British researcher and OD consultant Harry Gray attempts in a recently published paper (Gray, 1983) to identify just such a European tradition of OD in education. He takes the view that OD in schools in the United States is '... more coherent, has a clearer historical line of development and is much more systematic' (p. 7). Gray also points out that OD is founded on a theory that can be described in terms of 'applied behavioural science'. This should not be confused with behaviourist learning theory of the kind proposed by Skinner, Gray stresses; 'behavioural science' more closely resembles social psychology.

One underlying component of American OD can thus be described as a social psychological approach; the other is organization theory, more specifically a systems theory of organization. One difference between American and British school-based OD is, according to Gray, that the former approach takes *the school as an organization* as its point of departure. Here he refers to a definition given by Schmuck, who believes that OD in schools focuses on the actual school organization, which can be described in terms of 'interdependent subsystems made up of students, teachers, and administrators working at particular tasks and moving into coordination with one another as they move from task to task' (Schmuck, 1982c, p. 140). This definition, Gray argues, is a clear reflection of 'open system theory'.

OD in British education focuses far more on individuals and is influenced more by the therapeutic emphasis of the Tavistock school (rather than its socio-technical side; see 1.3.2), Gray writes. He also believes that OD in Britain is more 'open-ended', whereas its American counterpart aims for planned change ('planned and sustained OD').

As for the rest of Europe, OD has only been practised to any really appreciable extent in the Dutch and Scandinavian education systems. The OD used in these systems has been largely influenced by its American counterpart. In France, to take one example, OD in schools appears to be a fairly unfamiliar concept. In Sweden OD ideas have chiefly been used in in-service training of teachers and other staff (see also Lander, 1978; Berg & Englund, 1980; Berg *et al.*, 1980; and Hultman, 1981).

In other words, there are problems involved in talking of a 'European OD tradition', in view of the strength of the American influence.

Against this background, I have - as I pointed out in the preface - chosen to limit the account below to the change strategy *OD* as it has been applied *in North American schools*. I believe that my discussion will also be broadly applicable to West European school OD. Of course there are national differences in the application of OD theory. However, they are differences of degree rather than absolute differences from the original American approaches. In other words, OD has a common theory base ('applied behavioural science'), but superficially slightly different emphases as applied at the national level.

2.3 Fullan, Miles, and Taylor

2.3.1 Introduction

A paper that has already become something of a classic among advocates of OD in schools is that by Michael Fullan and Gib Taylor from Canada and Matthew Miles from the United States. It was published in the American research journal *Review of Educational Research* in 1980 and entitled 'Organization Development in Schools: The State of the Art'. The article is a 60-page review of around 100 publications (books, articles, conference papers, etc.). It should be noted that it only deals with OD as

applied in North America (the United States and Canada). Below I shall attempt to give a condensed, but still reasonably exhaustive, account of the content of the article.

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor examine the following four aspects of OD in schools:

(1) The goals and value base of OD
(2) The operating characteristics of OD in schools
(3) The results of OD in schools
(4) The future of OD in schools.

2.3.2 The goals and value base of OD

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor examine a number of different definitions of OD and find certain keywords linking them. These keywords include: *planned change, problem solving, communication, collaboration,* a focus on *human and techno-structural factors in the organization, task accomplishment, improving the quality of life of individuals, applied behavioural science,* and *change agents.* These keywords are summarized in the following definition of OD:

> Organization development in school districts is a coherent, systematically-planned, sustained effort at system self-study and improvement, focusing explicitly on change in formal and informal procedures, processes, norms or structures, using behavioral science concepts. The goals of OD include improving *both* the quality of life of individuals as well as organizational functioning and performance with a direct or indirect focus on educational issues. (Fullan, Miles, & Taylor, 1980, p. 135, italics in original)

The authors also discuss at this point criticism levelled at OD by some ten different researchers. One of the critics, Forbes, believes that OD is designed to maintain the homeostatic balance of an organization, rather than to truly develop the organization's activities. A change agent, Forbes argues, thus functions more as a 're-stabilizing agent'. Criticism is also put forward by Crockett, who takes the view that the objective of OD is in fact to increase the productivity of organization members by making them 'happier'. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor also quote a Marxian critique put forward by a researcher with the Swedish-sounding name of Lundberg:

> Most of OD's assumptions (rules of thumb?) would have us uncritically accept a capitalistic economic and political structure, uncritically adjust to economic and technological growth, and uncritically accept the importance of social class and the centrality of work in people's lives. Most OD 'assumptions' blind theorizers to the differences and pluralism of organizations and the real, structural sources of conflict. (p. 127)

Another type of criticism is that the typical features of OD are incompatible with the characteristics of the organizational structure of schools. I shall return to this criticism, put forward by Derr, later in this report (see 3.3), since I consider it to be of particular interest. In that section I shall review the original article in which Derr makes this criticism.

Having examined these criticisms, the authors then proceed to discuss the underlying values of OD. They quote one researcher (Friedlander) who argues that OD rests on three sometimes contradictory value schemes: rationalism, pragmatism, and existentialism. By rationalism Friedlander means that OD is given a more logical, empirical, and scientific basis. Pragmatism means moving OD in the direction of practical usefulness. And the term existentialism relates to the humanistic, 'person growth oriented' features of OD. Two other writers referred to, Walton and Warwick, believe that an ethical dilemma can arise due to the fact that OD operates in areas where freedom and personal responsibility are in opposition to the exercise of power in various forms. One problem that might arise is that OD consultants will claim to be working for the entire organization, while in fact they have been hired by the management and, when all is said and done, have to act on the terms laid down by the management.

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor sum up their impressions of the sources outlined above in three points:

> ... a careful reading of the definitions and value dilemmas... enables us to pinpoint some of the basic problems and to understand what OD is and why it has come under attack. Three issues stand out: (1) OD is attacked because many uses of OD probably do not meet all the criteria we have summarized (i.e., are not OD at all); (2) even when particular OD programs theoretically meet the criteria, there is often a discrepancy between the espoused values and the values in practice; and (3) OD is intrinsically difficult because it

> involves balancing elements of the organization, which are inherently in conflict or tension, and are extremely complex to understand and work with. (p. 134)

2.3.3 The operating characteristics of OD in schools

Under this heading Fullan, Miles, and Taylor review a large number of sources describing how various OD activities have been implemented in North American schools. They sum up and comment on this review as follows:

- A critical phase is the actual initiation of the OD programme, which is dependent on strong support from school management. This support must continue throughout the implementation of the programme.
- There must be a certain level of readiness for OD work in the school in question. This readiness can either exist when the OD effort is started or be created as part of the initiation process.
- Those involved in the OD programme must be willing to invest extra resources and energy in it.
- The 'transition phase' is particularly time-consuming. Two years is a minimum period for this process.
- Internal and external OD consultants are important as a source of support and stimulus for the OD programme.
- The institutionalization of OD work (i.e. a continuation of OD activities after the first two years) is dependent on an institutionalization of the resources (in terms of staff and money) used earlier on.
- Those involved in the OD programme need continuous feedback on the course of the change effort. This is essential if they are to feel involved in and committed to OD activities.
- Actual OD work must be concentrated on specific, down-to-earth activities rather than general problems.

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor end their review of the various characteristics of successful OD work with the following conclusion:

> ... the contribution of the findings in the reviews (based mainly in industrial organizations) to our knowledge of OD in schools is generally supportive or reinforcing, but largely not *specifically* helpful. Few of the cases involved schools, and the detailed variables and their operation in the school-based studies, which we

> reviewed earlier, were not tested at a specific level, because the variables were more crudely measured than would be necessary for such a test. (p. 159, italics in original)

2.3.4 The results of OD in schools

After examining a number of sources dealing with the results of various OD activities, Fullan, Miles, and Taylor are noticeably cautious in their conclusions. They point out, for instance, that a number of interventions which go by the name of OD are not in fact OD according to their definition of it (see 2.3.2), but more like individual training of one kind or another. They also draw attention to the fact that studies of OD have methodological weaknesses and that the reporting of outcomes often lacks research stringency, thus making it difficult to assess. And in addition the authors point out that OD always involves measures aimed at school staff rather than at students: 'Student benefits certainly need not be the justification for OD's value in schools - adults in schools have a legitimate claim for a better quality of *their* working lives - but cannot be ignored as a criterion of OD's success in schools' (pp. 170 - 71, italics in original).

Finally Fullan, Miles, and Taylor take the view that, since schools are complex, loosely coupled organizations (see also 8.2.3.2), often with no operational criteria of efficiency, the reported outcomes of OD are always difficult to evaluate.

2.3.5 The future of OD in schools

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor summarize the views of those researchers who express doubts as to the future of OD in the North American education systems. Such writers believe, for instance, that OD lacks a theoretical platform and that the goals of OD are generally unclear. The researchers quoted also claim that there is no coherent conception of what constitutes OD, what its fundamental values are, and what its actual results consist of. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, however, have a much brighter view of OD's future, as the following quotation indicates:

> OD programs have a favorable cost-benefit ratio: in many situations they can reasonably be expected to improve organizational climate and functioning, increase instructional innovations, and improve student outcomes. Dollar costs are often less than one-half of 1 percent of total budget, easily comparable to inservice education costs; personnel time investment is larger (10 - 20 days a year per person), and programs require about 5 years for firm institutionalization. Program effects such as resistance, defensiveness, and insecurity are natural but do not seem to jeopardize program success. (p. 176)

The main problem as Fullan, Miles, and Taylor see it is, as I mentioned earlier, that various change strategies are labelled OD without actually being OD. 'There is a clear need to distinguish between real OD and partial or mis-labelled OD,' they write, continuing:

> Authentic OD, according to our review..., consists of planned change programs which are coherent, systematic, long-range, and reflexively oriented. Such OD programs are directed at the improvement of both organizational performance and the quality of life of individuals and groups within the organization. They focus on human processes, techno-structural factors, and tasks in the organization using behavioral science concepts and methods, usually with the assistance of internal and external change agents, and with the emphasis on the transfer and development of the capabilities of internal change agents and other organizational members. That is a long list, but we believe that balanced and equal attention to all factors is essential, as is the actual implementation of espoused values. In short, programs should not be called OD unless they possess these characteristics, and if OD in schools is to work well, every effort should be made to develop and implement programs with such characteristics. (p. 173)

With reference to Derr, the authors characterize change strategies that are OD only by name as OT (organizational training). OT activities as such may be helpful to the individuals involved, they believe, but their impact on the development of the *organization* is rather more doubtful.

Finally, Fullan, Miles, and Taylor stress that one of the basic messages of their review is that the value and conceptual bases which underlie real OD are more crucial than any of the techniques associated with this strategy. Using these techniques in an unreflecting manner may have a devastating effect on the reputation of OD: 'The future of OD will require contending with both misrepresentation (labelling something OD when it is not) and misuse (applying the technology without its value and conceptual base as the primary guiding features)' (p. 174).

3 ARTICLES CRITICAL OF OD

3.1 Introduction

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor touch fairly briefly on a number of papers which are critical of OD and its applicability to North American schools. Here I shall review two such articles. Both were published in the same issue of the journal *Education and Urban Society* in 1976.

3.2 Blumberg

The title of Blumberg's article is 'OD's Future in Schools - Or Is There One?' It would be no exaggeration to say that he answers this question in the negative, supporting his answer as follows.

To begin with Blumberg notes that the question in the title of his article is not a rhetorical one: 'Rather, it addresses the issue of whether or not the processes or the function we call organizational development will become legitimized or institutionalized within the role structure of school organizations as they have in many industrial, and a growing number of governmental... settings' (p. 214). OD in schools affects a very small group of people in North America, Blumberg goes on. In the North American professional organization for OD practitioners (the OD Network), only six out of 1,200 members are involved in OD in schools. Those involved in this area often have backgrounds in the educational field, Blumberg adds. Blumberg's doubts as to the future of OD are derived from an examination of the following factors:

- the concept of schools as organizations held by school administrators
- the tradition of staff development services in US schools
- interpretation of the results of OD programmes in schools
- OD activities in relation to the effects of the general economic situation on priorities in education.

3.2.1 School administrators' concepts of schools as organizations

Blumberg refers to an empirical study he himself conducted, in which he analysed the conceptions held by school principals about the organization

in which they were working. He sums up the results of this study as follows:

> ... the concept of organization that was held by the principal was that their schools were primarily interpersonal systems and that the problems they encountered were almost universally of an interpersonal nature. Almost totally lacking among these principals was a concept of a school as an organic, goal-oriented system or a perception that problems they encountered were related to things other than idiosyncratic behavior patterns of particular teachers. (p. 216)

As far as I can understand, the point Blumberg is making is that a successful OD programme in a school is only possible if those involved in it perceive their organization in terms corresponding to the organic view of organization on which the OD approach rests.

3.2.2 Staff development traditions

As his second main argument against OD's future potential for success in education, Blumberg puts the view that the tradition of staff development and in-service training that exists in schools does not tie in with fundamental aspects of the OD philosophy. Traditional staff development focuses on strengthening the individual professional role of teachers, while OD rests on extensive co-operation among the staff of a school: '... the stronger this concept of role relations is held by an individual school or a school system the more difficult it will be for that school or system to conceive of legitimizing an organization development function in it. There is simply no need' (p. 218).

3.2.3 Results of OD work in schools

For OD work to be a success, Blumberg believes, schools have to be prepared to look at school organization in a new way. This in turn has consequences in terms of the actual tasks of the organization, and hence also in terms of the criteria of good school results. If OD is to have a future in schools, it has to be demonstrated that OD activities have real results. Such results cannot be limited, say, to staff 'feeling better' about each other, Blumberg argues, but have to be more closely related to student achievement.

3.2.4 OD activities in relation to general economic conditions

In these days of recession there is, Blumberg believes, little reason to take an optimistic view of OD's future in schools. If, moreover, principals have a different concept of school organization and staff development generally than that represented by OD, there is little likelihood that they will give priority to OD activities.

3.2.5 Concluding remarks

Blumberg concludes his article by raising four questions about the future role of OD consultants.

(1) Is the consultant's job to maintain the status quo in schools or, to put it in Mary Poppins' words, to be a '"little bit of sugar" helping the medicine go down' (p. 224)?

(2) OD has its origins in T-groups, Blumberg notes, but schools are not T-groups. As a result, OD consultants need a sound understanding of organizations in addition to their traditional group dynamic skills.

(3) OD suffers from what Blumberg calls a 'messiah burden' or 'crusader complex' (p. 225). OD must rid itself of the stamp of a 'movement' with which it is now encumbered.

(4) Blumberg is doubtful whether the OD consultant does most good as an outsider. He believes it would be better if the consultant held a position of real power in the school system (e.g. as a school administrator or member of the school board), encouraging development and change efforts from that position.

3.3 Derr

Derr's article is entitled '"OD" Won't Work In Schools', and as the title makes quite clear Derr has an extremely low opinion of OD's usefulness in schools. To begin with he says that superficially OD may appear to be an appealing strategy for school development: it has a humanistic foundation and is 'people oriented for a people profession' (p. 227). Nevertheless, Derr regards OD as a 'movement' or 'fad', and compares it to other change strategies such as MBO. He writes: '... school administrators... are well known historically for looking around

for an idea, usually one tried first in industry, quickly embracing the new scheme without proper diagnosis and adaptation and then rejecting it prior to good evaluation and modification' (p. 228). Derr also argues that in the majority of cases where OD has been used in education, a classical, industry-oriented form of it has been practised, one primarily involving human relations training, communication improvement, and so on. Where OD has been adapted to the specific characteristics of schools as organizations, he claims, greater success has been achieved. The upshot of Derr's discussion is that 'there is an important incompatability (*sic*) between the requisites for traditional organization development and the nature of traditional schools' (p. 229). In the rest of his article Derr does his best to substantiate this claim.

3.3.1 Requisites for OD

Derr believes that the theoretical basis and general premises of OD must be related to and compared with the special features characterizing schools as organizations. An OD intervention is dependent on there being a certain *readiness* for such activities in a school. And this in turn presupposes that the school organization is *improvement-oriented*, that is, the people in it must really be willing to improve their activities in various respects. A successful OD effort is built on close and intensive *collaboration* between organization members, aimed at together achieving the goals of the change programme decided upon. A further characteristic of OD is, as Derr puts it, that 'The targets of change are considered systemically'. By this Derr is referring to the systems theory basis of OD, i.e. the fact that effects in one subsystem influence the entire school organization. Another characteristic of successful OD is that the change process as such is supported by external and internal consultants. One of their main tasks is, in the OD philosophy, to work on 'human problems':

> While organizational structure, management information systems, architecture, operations research, technology, and accounting are all seen as important and potentially complimentary (*sic*) management functions, OD focuses on improving human resources. (p. 231)

Derr rounds off his survey of typical features of OD by pointing out that OD also requires the investment of sufficient financial resources in a programme.

3.3.2 Characteristics of school organization

Having examined what the term OD stands for, Derr turns to a discussion of certain characteristics of the organizational structure of schools. To begin with he observes that schools have no operational criteria for effectiveness. This means that the goals of OD work in schools are unclear and the results difficult to assess. And secondly Derr believes that the environment in which schools operate is difficult to describe:

> All human organizations carry on an exchange with their external environments. They not only adapt to environmental demands but also attempt to influence or make the environment adapt to them... Public school systems are more monopolistic than most organizations... (p. 232)

A further characteristic of schools as organizations to which Derr refers is the more marked need of staff for autonomy in their work in schools than in other organizations. Since teachers typically work alone, they have a high degree of independence built into their professional roles. Consequently the work of a school does *not* presuppose extensive collaboration among its staff (cf. the concept 'loose coupling' in 8.2.3.2). A high degree of autonomy and low degree of collaboration among staff are, according to Derr, the factors most detrimental to the chances of successful OD in schools.

Derr argues that the school as an organization is further characterized by a 'civil servant mentality', factors such as tenure and other 'secure' conditions of employment often being the primary reason for teachers' choice of profession. The fact that career choice is influenced more by bureaucratic factors of this kind than interest in working with young people naturally has an effect on day-to-day work in schools.

Finally, Derr points out that schools 'exist in a decreasing market, are no longer in public favor as per their priority for federal and other funding, and generally have few economic resources' (p. 237).

Derr sums up his arguments in the following table:

School Organization	OD Concept Violated
A. *Lack of Common Indicators of Performance*	A. *Readiness*
	- must feel a need for improvement - client system must sense its own problems in order to be committed to working them
B. *Nature of School Environment*	B. *Improvement Orientation*
- survival guaranteed - public relations orientation - crisis orientation	- it is worth time, effort, $ to improve - must continuously learn from experience (self-renewal) - long-term effort
C. *Autonomy Needs of Employees*	C. *Collaborative Theory and Method*
D. *Low Required Interdependence*	D. *Systemic Orientation*
- don't have to work together - benefits of collaboration not greater than costs	- also, collaborative values and methods in OD - real incentives to stress opportunity costs of non-collaboration
E. *Civil Service Mentality*	E. *External and Internal Capability, Improvement Orientation*
- some goal displacement: employment v. educational systems - job security conscious - inbreeding	- must employ best internal OD specialists from whatever background - both external and internal OD specialists - roles and structure fluid and dynamic; choose best men or group for a given job - norms of risk taking and improvement should prevail
F. *Few Resources*	F. *Adequate Resources Necessary*

Fig. 3:1 School organization v. organization development. From Derr (1976), p. 236, italics in original

To sum up, then, Derr argues that OD is an improvement effort based on organization members collaborating on a development programme with a

definite goal. This goal is ultimately defined by the demands placed on the organization by its environment. The characteristics of schools as organizations do not, according to Derr, meet these OD criteria.

Derr goes on to say that OD belongs primarily in business settings and that clearly it has been and still is a successful change strategy in organizations of that kind. In health care institutions, too, there is a reasonable chance of OD working, Derr believes, but hardly in traditional schools. How, then, are school organizations to be improved if OD is an inappropriate change strategy? he asks. He suggests two possible approaches:

- only using OD in schools - of a non-traditional kind - whose structure makes such interventions possible
- developing a new OD theory appropriate to the characteristics of the American school system.

In connection with the first of these, Derr makes the following comment:

> To adapt OD to traditional schools is a more difficult assignment. First, some preorganization development must take place. Basic management training for principals, better structuring of school organizations, improved management information systems, and long-range planning could serve as infrastructure within which an OD intervention could then take place. (p. 239)

In addition, Derr argues that for OD to work in the school context, it is necessary for the environment of a school to demand change in that school in the same way as a firm's 'market' does.

One possible way of doing work resembling OD in order to effect change in schools is, Derr believes, to use what he calls OT (organizational training): 'OT is the OD technology which can be employed without necessarily being connected to a long-term intervention' (p. 239). In fact, he argues, most of what is called OD in the field of education today is in reality OT work of one kind or another.

Derr's conclusion, then, is that far-reaching changes in the present organizational structure of schools are necessary if OD is to stand any chance of success. However, it may well be possible, he believes, to make use, at the purely methodological level, of various techniques associated with OD.

4 EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF OD - TWO EXAMPLES

In this chapter I shall turn to two empirical studies in which attention is paid to the results of OD interventions in schools. First I shall look at a paper by Christopher Keys and Jean Bartunek, 'Organization Development in Schools: Goal Agreement, Process Skills, and Diffusion of Change'. I shall then go on to review a study carried out by Michael Fullan and Matthew Miles, 'OD in Schools: The State of the Art', which contains the groundwork for the paper which I considered in chapter 2.

4.1 Keys and Bartunek

4.1.1 Background and aims

This paper (Keys & Bartunek, 1979) describes a fairly large-scale empirical study of an OD intervention carried out in 1973 and 1974, involving 14 elementary schools in the vicinity of Chicago.

The study takes as its point of departure the hypothesis (put forward by Richard Schmuck and others) that the effectiveness of an organization is dependent on the extent to which its members work together to achieve the organization's goals. For them to be in a position to do this, some degree of consensus as to these goals must exist among organization members and they must participate actively in various 'goal-setting activities'. The aims of the study were:

(1) to assess the effect of an OD programme on 'goal agreement' in schools;
(2) to assess the extent to which the OD intervention improved the 'process skills' of the staff, i.e. their ability to participate actively in discussions, decision making, and conflict resolution;
(3) to determine the relationship between the level of goal agreement and the use of process skills.

4.1.2 The implementation of the OD intervention

Over 200 teachers from 14 elementary schools took part in the project. Of the schools, seven were experimental and seven control schools.

The OD intervention was launched at the beginning of 1973, when teams consisting of four members of staff from each of the 14 schools attended a two-day 'decision retreat'. There the researchers outlined the substance of the intended OD intervention. On the basis of this the schools themselves decided whether to be in the experimental or the control group. The next stage in the process came later that spring, when teams from the schools that had chosen to be in the experimental group received in-service training in OD techniques. These teams comprised eight people - seven teachers and their principal - and their training included problem identification, decision making, brainstorming, and conflict utilization. They also planned how, at the next stage, this knowledge might be disseminated and applied in their own schools. Subsequently OD programmes were implemented in the schools concerned along the lines of the in-service training given. One component of this programme Keys and Bartunek describe as follows: '... each experimental school faculty met to identify and articulate common school goals that could form the basis for subsequent educational changes in its school' (p. 65).

4.1.3 Research procedure

The results of the OD intervention were studied by means of questionnaires distributed to the experimental schools on three occasions during the programme. At these schools staff were divided into two groups: 'repeaters' and 'newcomers'. The latter received two questionnaires. Questionnaires were also sent to 'repeaters' at the control schools on two occasions. To complement the questionnaires, a small number of interviews were carried out.

The variable 'goal agreement' was subdivided into 'actual' and 'perceived goal agreement'. The first of these subvariables was measured by asking those involved in the OD programme to rank 16 possible school goals, framed by research workers. These goals included

- reducing the dropout rate
- improving student performance in basic skills
- increasing student motivation to learn
- instituting interpersonal relations training for staff members.

Perceived goal agreement was measured by some of the questionnaire items and by a small-sample interview study, in which questions such as 'Have you agreed on any goals for the whole school?' were asked.

The extent to which various process skills were employed in the OD work of the schools was investigated by means of questionnaires and interviews. The questions asked in this context were placed under two main headings, 'Participation' and 'Conflict Utilization'. Under the first, participants had to comment on the pertinence or otherwise of such statements as 'There are many problems which people are concerned about which never get on the agenda', and under 'Conflict Utilization' they were asked to comment on items such as 'When a conflict over a decision comes up, the group does not avoid it, but really stays with it and works it through'.

4.1.4 Results

After extensive statistical analysis of the data collected, the research team came up with the results set out below.

The degree of agreement on school goals had increased significantly at the experimental schools, among both repeaters and newcomers. The results for the control schools were far less clear-cut; at some of them agreement had even decreased markedly in the course of the programme. The differences between experimental and control schools were confirmed by the way teachers *perceived* goal agreement; here too there were significant differences between the experimental and control groups. In other words, there was greater consensus on the goals which schools should be trying to achieve in the schools at which an OD intervention had been carried out.

As for process skills, the authors write: 'These questionnaire findings indicate that teachers who have had OD training report more use of participation and conflict utilization skills than teachers who have not had such training' (p. 70). This is true of both newcomers and repeaters in the experimental schools.

With one exception, Keys and Bartunek were, however, unable to find any correlation between goal agreement and process skills. The exception was the experimental school newcomers. This is explained by the fact that this group, unlike the repeaters, worked on process skills at the same time as they were involved in the process of trying to achieve shared goals.

Finally, the authors draw attention to a methodological problem. They believe that questionnaires and interviews are too crude an instrument for measuring complex phenomena of the kind described above. They recommend the method of direct observation for future studies of a similar kind.

4.2 Fullan and Miles

An empirical study of a different kind from that reviewed in the previous section is a paper by Fullan and Miles (1978) entitled 'OD in Schools: The State of the Art'. Their study deals chiefly with the following questions:

- How many OD consultants are active in education in Canada and the United States and what does their work consist of?
- How many school districts in North America are involved in OD work and what is the content of this work?

4.2.1 OD consultants in North America

By going through OD Network lists and other sources, Fullan and Miles identified 1,012 OD consultants who they judged could be involved in OD in education. A questionnaire was sent to these people. 225 of them replied that they were not involved in OD in schools in any way, and roughly half the remainder filled in and returned the questionnaire after a number of reminders.

The subject matter of the questionnaire is described by Fullan and Miles as follows:

> The basic information we collected from OD consultants included job title, base of work, sex, geographical region of work, type of formal and informal training, type and amount of OD work in school districts... (p. 153)

Of the consultants returning the questionnaire, 35 per cent were based in school districts (e.g. superintendents, principals, and teachers), 26 per cent in universities (full, associate, and assistant professors and others), 11 per cent in state or provincial departments, and 9 per cent worked free-lance.

Almost 90 per cent of those completing the questionnaire stated that they had had some kind of training for their OD functions. This could consist of university training and/or training in the form of workshops of various kinds arranged, for example, by the NTL. Although an overwhelming majority of these OD consultants had some form of training in OD, in roughly half the cases it was, in the opinion of Fullan and Miles, clearly inadequate:

> This may be related to the diffuseness and ambiguity of what OD in education really is... It also may mean that there are many effective OD consultants in education who have learned their trade on the job and through selected workshops. As is shown in the school district data, some of these people have other full-time jobs in school districts. They may not be identified as OD consultants in professional associations, but may in fact reflect a much larger number of OD consultants in education than was previously suspected in the OD literature. (p. 154)

The amount of OD work done by the consultants replying to the questionnaire varied considerably. Some three-quarters of them had worked in two or fewer school districts and those who had worked in more than two districts included the consultants based primarily in universities.

What problems, then, did they believe they could solve with the help of OD? Answers to this question centred on factors like improving the school's problem-solving capacity, improving its capacity for communication, leadership development, and so on. OD as a solution to more structural problems was hardly mentioned by any of the respondents.

4.2.2 OD at the local level

Fullan and Miles constructed a second questionnaire, which was sent to a sample of 390 school districts. The response rate here was a mere 34 per cent. Of these districts about two-thirds stated that some kind of

OD had taken place or was taking place. The social-class composition of the populations of these districts did not differ significantly from that of the population as a whole.

The duration of OD projects in these school districts varied from 18 months to 10 years, with a median at three years. From this Fullan and Miles draw the conclusion that 'once an OD effort gets past the eighteen-month investment, it tends to be sustained' (p. 159). They go on:

> The targets of attention tended to be 'several schools' (22 percent), 'total system' (18 percent), or 'multi-level' (17 percent). It was rare for the work to be limited to a single school (4 percent) or only administrators - the superintendent plus principals (12 percent) or the central office alone (3 percent). The total number of persons involved in the seventy-six districts ranged from nine to over 3,000, the median number involved was in the 300 - 700 range. (pp. 159 - 60)

The type of OD most commonly employed Fullan and Miles describe as 'classical OD' - i.e. communication training, personal development, etc. The frequency with which the various OD methods were used, according to the results of the questionnaire, is summed up by the authors in the following table:

	Not Used at All	Used Once or More
1. Training (direct teaching)	26%	74%
2. Process consultation	38%	62%
3. Confrontation	46%	54%
4. Data feedback	30%	70%
5. Problem solving (meetings)	25%	75%
6. Plan making	16%	84%
7. Establishment of OD task force	49%	51%
8. Techno-structural activity	62%	32%

(p. 161)

In all the school districts studied, the OD activities included in the table above were supported by internal and/or external OD consultants. Internal change agents were involved in OD programmes to a much greater extent than external consultants, whose work was often limited to holding workshops and similar activities. Typically, inside consultants were 'line managers' - administrators or principals. By way of confirmation of their findings from the questionnaire sent to OD consultants

(see above), Fullan and Miles observe the following concerning the training of internal consultants:

> The main formal training received was through university auspices (27 percent), followed by workshops and courses (25 percent). However, 25 percent had no formal training at all. The most frequent *informal* training for inside change agents was 'on the job' experience as an educational (*not* as an OD) specialist (15 percent); in contrast, only 6 percent learned by doing *OD* on the job. But the great bulk of the insiders (62 percent) had no *informal* training, such as the above, or parallel work with other OD consultants, or teaching courses or workshops. Finally, we noted that three quarters (75 percent) of the insiders had no affiliation with outside professional groups; only 9 percent, or 5 people, were said to be members of the OD Network. Thus, the picture is one of active, sustained work by insiders with little formal or informal preparation for what they are doing, and little sense of external colleagueship. (p. 162, italics in original)

A key item in the questionnaire was what issues had given rise to the various OD interventions. As with the first questionnaire, respondents here referred to factors such as communication problems in schools. Of those completing the questionnaire, 41 per cent gave socio-emotional issues as the main cause of OD activities being initiated. One condition for it to be possible for an OD programme to be started, according to respondents, was that such efforts be supported by the school administration or district management.

An OD effort comprises a number of phases, e.g. planning, initiation, stabilization, etc. In the questionnaire survey, respondents were asked to divide their OD programmes into phases and to describe certain characteristics of these phases. Fullan and Miles summarize the answers given to this question as follows:

> We note that task and output orientation increased or was maintained during the early phases, with decreasing emphasis on socio-emotional issues as such. The increase in personnel issues (which included such items as performance review, staff development, and hiring) suggests that many projects included a training component as soon as things were reasonably launched. Similarly, subsystem functioning received more attention. (p. 164)

The questionnaire also included a number of questions designed to establish whether or not OD was a successful change strategy. The variables

of relevance to this question were:

(1) What impact does OD have on activities in school districts?
(2) What are the general attitudes to OD among the people taking part in the effort?
(3) To what extent does the OD effort become institutionalized?

4.2.2.1 Impact

As regards the expected effects of OD efforts, respondents observed such improvements as:

- better communication in schools
- better thought out planning
- more stringent decision making
- a greater capacity for problem solving.

Unexpected consequences also arose from OD. These included other socio-emotional results than the above, e.g. the OD effort resulted in a generally increased acceptance of change.

Respondents were also asked to state what undesirable results had been observed. Some of the people involved in the OD effort apparently felt threatened and refused to participate, and it was also mentioned that OD activities had increased workloads generally. Fullan and Miles write:

> The explanations for these bad outcomes centered mostly on poor communication (20 percent), followed by resistance, fears (18 percent), worry about being too personal (14 percent), lack of commitment (14 percent), and resistance to new ideas (12 percent). Only 10 percent mentioned poor planning or implementation issues; it appears that explanations center mostly on the behavior of negativists rather than on the advocates of OD. (p. 168)

4.2.2.2 Attitudes

With a view to establishing general attitudes to the OD programmes concerned, respondents were asked whether they would have designed their OD work differently if they had known from the outset what they knew with hindsight. Roughly half of them answered in the affirmative, and their criticisms included the following:

- the OD programme proceeded too quickly
- support 'from the top' was inadequate
- the programme should have been better planned
- more parental support was desirable
- greater use should have been made of outside consultants.

4.2.2.3 Institutionalization

A further determinant of how successful or otherwise an OD strategy was to be regarded was the extent to which OD measures became institutionalized at the end of the OD effort as such. Almost 90 per cent said that such measures were institutionalized in the day-to-day activities of the school district in one way or another. In addition, 80 per cent predicted that this change would probably be a lasting one.

4.2.3 Comparison between the United States and Canada

Finally, Fullan and Miles compare the United States and Canada as regards school-based OD. They find that differences do exist, summarizing them as follows:

> In short, Canadian school districts (fourteen of the twenty were in Ontario) were much more likely to have individualistic rather than system-oriented approaches to OD, which accounts for the comparatively low impact on outcomes and attitudes in the district. (p. 171)

The authors also attempt to explain this difference:

> OD in education has diffused to Canada (primarily from the U.S.) without a corresponding development of the *infrastructure* necessary to support systematic or comprehensive OD efforts. For example, there were very few OD consultants in Canada who had training in OD outside the school district and even fewer university-based consultants who were available for direct OD work or for training others. It appears that at this time the more superficial, individualistic (personnel- rather than system-oriented) aspects of OD have been diffused without the more fundamental and comprehensive components of OD. We wonder whether what we have called 'classical OD' can be understood under these conditions and whether partial diffusion does more harm than good in terms of the evaluation it may receive from would-be users. (p. 172, italics in original)

4.2.4 Conclusions

Fullan and Miles sum up the conclusions of their study as follows:

(1) Criteria of success. An OD programme that 'survives' for eighteen months is more likely to achieve the effects planned than a shorter programme. Further, the probability of the changes achieved as a result of the OD effort being institutionalized increases the longer the actual OD programme lasts.

(2) Internal OD consultants receive limited training for their support roles. Fullan and Miles believe that the diffusion of OD would increase if these internal practitioners became more professionalized.

(3) Sources of error in the study. The authors believe, first, that the results have to be treated with a certain amount of caution, as they are based on information provided by people who are themselves actively involved in the OD activities they describe. Second, Fullan and Miles point out that the non-response rate was strikingly high. And, third, they ask whether they have been studying comparable quantities. What in fact is OD in schools? Is what the respondents describe really OD, or is it some other type of change strategy?

(4) Diffusion of OD. Fullan and Miles point out that OD has diffused to schools to a greater extent than they had realized. The question then is whether OD is in fact a good thing for schools. 'Those who have given it a try generally say yes,' Fullan and Miles write. They go on:

> It does appear that it makes life better for the adults - and about half the time for the students - in those districts in our sample. There seems no reason why larger probabilities of student impact - including change in learning outcomes - could not be achieved if OD programs were designed that way. The innovation-encouraging nature of OD programs is a further point in their favor. The negative outcomes noted do not seem substantial enough to sap the commitment and optimism of our respondents. So, we conclude that OD *can* be beneficial to schools. Whether it is or not seems to depend a great deal on the attitude and support of top administration, the establishment of strong internal OD consultants (possibly in line positions), the selective use of external consultants, and a deliberate, explicit approach that combines task, structural, and socio-emotional focuses in a system-oriented framework. (p. 173, italics in original)

5 THE OREGON GROUP*

5.1 Richard Schmuck and Philip Runkel

5.1.1 Introduction

Some of the most prominent figures as regards the application of OD to education in the United States are currently working in Eugene, Oregon. I am referring to Professors Richard Schmuck (described by Gray (1983) as 'the cynosure of OD practitioners in education'), Philip Runkel, and their associates, all of whom work at the Center for Educational Policy and Management of the University of Oregon. Since the mid-1960s they have been active in Oregon as consultants and researchers on OD in the field of education.

'Organization development is based on human system theory,' Schmuck writes (1982b, p. 833). The systems approach involves a conception of the organization as a whole that can be divided into a number of subsystems in constant interaction. This interaction means in theory that a change in one subsystem results, at least over a period of time, in some form of adaptation to this change in the other subsystems. The concepts of *adaptation* and the *adaptability* of an organization can thus be said to be key concepts in the systems theory oriented philosophy of OD.

The identification of subsystems in a school organization and the studying of their interaction are a phase of OD interventions crucial to their success. Schmuck *et al.* (1977) put this as follows: 'Because the functions of school organizations are carried out by the coordinated efforts of persons in subsystems, understanding what makes subsystems effective is crucial to understanding what makes organizations adaptable' (p. 16). As Schmuck *et al.* see it, the prime aim of an OD effort is to increase the effectiveness of these subsystems in order to make the school as an organization more adaptable to various kinds of pressure for change. Practical OD activities are, with this in mind, geared, for

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* The points discussed in this chapter are based partly on the references given and partly on a study visit to Eugene, Oregon, in November 1982. See Berg & Söderström, 1983, for further details.

example, to improving communication between members of the organization, resolving conflicts that have arisen, assisting in the formulation of goals, improving meeting procedures, decision making, problem solving, and so on.

The 'human' side of OD in schools is, according to Schmuck and his associates, primarily a matter of interventions in the *social system* of the school as an organization. I earlier referred to French (see 1.2), who takes a modified socio-technical approach to OD. As was pointed out in that section, such an approach does not limit OD activities to the social subsystem of an organization; technological and administrative aspects of its operations, for instance, should also receive attention in connection with OD. Richard Schmuck has confirmed in an interview that OD in schools is chiefly a question of *applied behavioural science*. He also argues that, since the organizational structure of schools is more 'loosely coupled' (see also 8.2.3.2) than that of most industrial companies, OD work in schools should primarily concentrate on the social system. OD in schools involves in other words *working on people in schools* and trying to get as many of them as possible to involve themselves in an effort designed to increase schools' ability to adapt to their environments (see 8.2.1 for further details).

OD in schools should also, Schmuck believes, be a constantly on-going process. In a company it may often be sufficient for a limited number of 'key people' to be directly involved in the OD programme. OD in schools is, as was mentioned earlier, a matter of applied behavioural science. As a consequence, Schmuck (together with Matthew Miles) defines OD as follows in an earlier book: 'OD can be defined as a planned and sustained effort to apply behavioral science for system improvement, using reflective, self-analytic methods' (Schmuck & Miles, 1971, p. 2).

5.1.2 Goals of OD activities in schools

Having interviewed Richard Schmuck, Philip Runkel, and some of their colleagues, and read books and articles written by them, I feel it is reasonable to conclude that, in their view, OD in schools has two principal aims:

- to create a high self-renewing capacity in the school, which presupposes
- making the subsystems as effective as possible.

A school with a high level of organizational adaptability has, according to Schmuck *et al.* (1977), such characteristics as the following:

> An adaptable organization is continually and consciously solving problems that arise either because groups in the organization's environment are pressing for change or because new goals are being established within the organization itself. (p. 10)

Organizational adaptability thus implies that the organization as a whole is 'by itself' able to adapt to indications of change reaching it from its environment and to transmit these signals to its subsystems as quickly as possible.

The second main aim of OD work in schools is to make the subsystems together constituting the school as an organization as effective as possible. To be effective, Schmuck *et al.* (1977) argue, these subsystems should be characterized by well developed channels of communication, sharply defined goals which are familiar to the members of the subsystem, an ability to deal with conflicts that have arisen, effective meetings, a sound problem-solving ability, and a sound ability to make decisions and handle pressure for change.

The idea, then, is that thanks to its high degree of adaptability the school organization should be receptive to demands for change from its environment, i.e. from its immediate socio-economic setting or 'market' (see 8.2.1 for further discussion). This pressure for change is then passed on to the organization's subsystems which, owing to their effectiveness, have the capacity to implement changes internally. One question which presents itself in this connection is what is meant by the term *goals* - does the school as an organization actually have goals in the strict sense of the word? In a book which may be considered something of a classic as regards the systems approach to organizations (Katz & Kahn, 1966), this question is answered in general terms as follows: 'System theory is basically concerned with problems of relationships, of structure, and of interdependence, rather than with the

constant attributes of objects' (p. 18). According to this view, then, the goal of school activities - to simplify somewhat - is not to work towards a specific, explicitly established state or position, but rather to create an adaptable, amoeboid organization able to work towards various states as determined by the situation in its environment at any given time. In a strict systems theory view, in other words, the school organization has no goals 'of its own' (and hence no explicit criteria of effectiveness; cf. 8.2.1); its goals are dependent on the prevailing state of its environment.

5.1.3 OD consultants in Eugene

Since 1971 there has, on the initiative of Schmuck, Runkel, and their associates, been what is known as an OD cadre at the school district level in Eugene. This cadre is made up of a number of teachers, principals, and district administrators who have undertaken OD functions in the town's schools along the lines of Schmuck's ideas as sketched out above. Its members are volunteers, who receive no special remuneration for their consultancy work. Cadre members always carry out their consulting assignments in other schools than those at which they hold their regular posts.

The idea behind the scheme was to create a group of OD consultants who would be close to their clients by virtue of their regular jobs, while nevertheless remaining outsiders. Schmuck *et al.* (1977) describe the thinking behind the system as follows:

> First, each part-time specialist becomes a channel of communication between the cadre and the subsystem in which he or she holds a regular job. Second, each specialist becomes a source of support and expertise for other cadre members who are working with a group of which the specialist is regularly a part. Third, when they consult in subsystems to which they do not regularly belong, cadre members are in effect outsiders, with the result that their perspective on the client's situation can be relatively unbiased. (p. 527)

Thus the advantage of consultants and clients being basically in the same boat is combined with that of the consultant coming from outside and hence being in a position to act differently and with freer hands than a person who forms part of the social structure in which he or she

consults would be able to do. The cadre is 'a visible group,' Schmuck *et al.* write, 'that functions autonomously yet interdependently with other subsystems of the district' (p. 527). Schmuck calls this system 'peer-consultation' and he believes that it 'could gain legitimacy through norms in support of collegial responsibility and peer-helpfulness. And cadres made up of peer-colleagues would offer an alternative to the traditional professional-client helping relationship' (Schmuck, 1982a, p. 13).

What then are the functions of this cadre? Here are a few examples:

- helping schools to solve communication problems
- assisting in clarifying school goals
- conflict management
- systematic problem solving.

One condition for peer-consultants to be able to perform these functions is that they should be strictly neutral in their consulting role. They should not take sides, but concentrate on solving in an impartial manner the problems defined by the clients. The point of the exercise is to create a structure in the client school which will facilitate improvement in the school's self-renewing capacity.

Peer-consultants are given training before being admitted to the cadre. Basic training is the responsibility of Schmuck, Runkel, and their colleagues, while further training takes place as an integral part of the normal activities of the cadre.

5.1.4 The work of the cadre

To sum up, the cadre can be described as a service organization whose job is to effectivize the subsystems of schools with a view to improving their capacity for self-renewal. What constitutes a lack of effectiveness, or a 'problem', is as a rule defined internally, by the client school itself. Runkel *et al.* (1979) see a school's ability to solve its problems as dependent on four clusters of staff activities. These are summed up by Schmuck (1982c) as follows:

> [1] ... systematic diagnosis of discrepancies between actual and ideal states that exist within the school's environment, between its subsystems... and between particular staff members...
>
> [2] ... proactive retrieval of appropriate resources from within and outside the school for the purpose of reducing the discrepancies ...
>
> [3] ... formation of *ad hoc* groups, frequently with staff members from diverse subsystems of the school, that can efficiently and effectively use available resources to reduce the diagnosed discrepancies...
>
> [4] ... self-analytic, formative evaluation of the above three clusters of activities...
>
> (p. 142)

Schmuck (1980) suggest that the influence of the environment on the definition of school problems is dependent on the socio-economic structure of that environment:

- In middle- and upper-class areas, pupils' parents have a great deal of influence over what goes on in schools. In such areas in Eugene 'alternative schools' have been started (see Berg & Söderström, 1983, for further details), and here parental involvement in school activities is extremely well developed.

- In working- and lower-middle-class areas, parents have less influence. This gives the staff of the schools concerned greater discretion to define problems themselves.

The peer-consultant thus operates on terms stipulated by the school 'itself', terms which have been influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the requirements of the school's environment (or 'market'). As a result there is generally a high degree of *readiness* for OD interventions in the client school. In addition, the school understands broadly what measures the peer-consultant will employ to deal with the problem (e.g. give training in meeting techniques to improve communication at staff meetings). The OD philosophy of Schmuck and the rest of the Oregon group includes the professional ethical assumption that the peer-consultant will take a *neutral* stance in relation to the different groups in the client school. This neutrality does of course have its limits, since the peer-consultant has agreed to work on terms laid down by the client school. The consultant's *neutrality* exists chiefly with respect to the different groups *within* the client school.

The peer-consultant's work can be summed up as follows:

(1) The consultant is engaged by the client school to solve a number of specific problems. These problems are defined by the school itself and have been shaped by the more or less marked influence of the school's environment.

(2) The peer-consultant works on the following lines:
- identification of the subsystem in which the problem has arisen;
- implementation of suitable measures to solve the problem;
- greater 'effectiveness' in the subsystem as a result;
- consequent improvement in the school's self-renewing ability, i.e. the school acquires a greater capacity for adapting rapidly to internal or external pressure for change.

(3) Keywords in the peer-consultant's working strategy are a high degree of *readiness* and *neutrality*. The high level of readiness is a consequence of the problem being defined 'internally', and the consultant's neutrality is a precondition of his or her authority in the client school.

6 OD IN SCHOOLS IN THE 1980S

6.1 The New York conference

Following on from the 'state of the art' article on OD in schools written by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (reviewed in chapter 2), a conference was held in New York in May 1980. It was attended by 17 prominent North American behavioural scientists, whose common denominator was that they were or had been involved in OD in schools in one way or another. They included Schmuck, Runkel, Fullan, and Miles. None of the authors of the articles critical of OD, reviewed earlier, were present, however. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the future of OD in schools, primarily over the next ten years. The following account of the conclusions reached by the New York conference is based on Schmuck (1982c).

The conferees were clearly agreed that OD in education has come to stay. The problems and possibilities of school OD in the 1980s are summarized by Schmuck under four themes:

- clarifying the theoretical bases of OD in schools;
- studying specific issues related to the practice of OD;
- studying OD in combination with other change strategies;
- enlarging the scope of OD research methods.

6.1.1 Clarifying the theoretical bases of OD

Those attending the conference called for a greater clarification of the links between OD theory and technology and other theoretical perspectives, e.g. sociological, political, or economic. It was also argued that the theoretical bases of OD could be developed in parallel with a development of methods for collecting and interpreting quantitative data. In the view of the conferees a further problem was a lack of criteria for the effectiveness of OD interventions in schools, 'particularly in relation to the multiple levels of impact that are possible in the complex human systems of schools' (p. 152).

6.1.2 Specific issues related to the practice of OD

A critical issue here, and one on which the conference called for more empirical research, is what degree of readiness there must be in a school for it to be 'mature' enough for an OD project. There is an urgent need to 'match school characteristics with different startup strategies and with different consultative designs' (p. 152).

Participants also felt that little was known about the possible effects of OD on existing power structures in schools. Is, for instance, the power relationship between teachers and administrators affected by an OD project?

A further problem is described under the heading of 'Imagery and symbolism'. Here Schmuck raises the question:

> How might we describe the 'existential underbelly' of the OD enterprise? How do the images held by consultants facilitate or hinder their relationships with clients, their communication with evaluators and policy makers... (p. 153)

On the subject of consultants' involvement in school-based OD interventions, conferees felt it was necessary to gather more information about these consultants, who they are, what training they have, and so on. It was also felt that closer study should be made of how far consultants can carry out OD research while performing their support role.

The link between OD interventions and pupils' actual achievements in various areas should, according to the New York conference, be examined in greater depth:

> What happens to staff relationships when pupils are brought into OD projects? How does teacher-pupil problem solving about school-wide issues relate to the teaching and learning processes that take place between them? (p. 153)

A critical phase in any OD project is when school data are fed back to the people in schools for 'self-reflection'. More information on what this phase looks like in concrete terms in various OD interventions must be collected and analysed, the conference agreed.

A further issue raised was the relationship between OD projects and politics in school districts where OD is carried out. Those attending the conference asked what political sanctions were necessary for local OD work to be carried out and whether complications of an ethical nature might arise in this connection.

Finally, more data on the institutionalization and diffusion of OD in schools was called for. Are, for example, internal OD consultants, like those in the Eugene cadre, an effective means of institutionalizing and spreading OD?

6.1.3 OD in combination with other change strategies

It was agreed that there was a need for more research on how OD might be combined with externally initiated planned change projects in schools, e.g. busing, racial desegregation, etc. OD's relationship to other internally initiated change projects - e.g. MBO - should also be studied, it was felt, and questions such as the following were raised:

> What are some alternative ways in which OD and MBO might be combined into a single design for school improvement? What are the ethical problems for the OD consultant doing such mixing? (p. 155)

6.1.4 Enlarging the scope of OD research methods

Those attending the conference agreed that the methods used in OD research should be refined in a variety of respects, for example:

(1) Surveys. This technique should be developed so that
- better study can be made of the procedures employed by OD consultants;
- attitudes and values relating to OD projects among school staff, pupils, and parents can be more fully analysed;
- unintended consequences of OD interventions can be captured and examined.

(2) Studies of documents. A source of information on OD projects which has often been overlooked in the past comprises official and unofficial

documents from the school in question. Techniques for studying such records should be developed.

(3) In-depth case studies are highly suitable for OD research, in the opinion of the conferees. More use should be made of this method in future OD research.

(4) Comparative studies. OD programmes should more frequently be compared with non-OD projects. This would on the one hand allow data to be collected on the pros and cons of the change strategies concerned, and also provide a basis for discussing whether or not the different strategies are complementary.

6.2 OD Clearinghouse and Exchange

The paper describing the issues raised at the New York conference in May 1980 concludes with a discussion by its author Richard Schmuck on the importance of establishing a clearing-house for OD researchers, as well as a personal view of the future of OD in schools.

Schmuck outlines the purpose of establishing such a clearing-house as follows: 'A major activity of the OD Clearinghouse and Exchange would be to prepare up-to-date annotated bibliographies of research and practice on OD in schools worldwide, and to add to those bibliographies annually' (p. 157).

As an offshoot of the idea of establishing a clearing-house, Schmuck believes that the formation of 'OD networks', already under way, should continue and be broadened. There could be networks of researchers, of practitioners, and of schools involved in OD in some way. The purpose of networks of this kind is to give their members opportunities for exchanges of experience and information.

Finally, Schmuck summarizes his personal view of the future of OD in the following five points:

(1) Experiences with OD in Europe and Australia should be more extensively documented and disseminated.

(2) Schmuck hopes that educational managers will integrate OD techniques in their day-to-day work. In other words, OD should not be viewed as something entirely different in nature from everyday school activities.

(3) Traditionally OD has mainly been aimed at school staff. In future, OD interventions should also involve pupils and parents.

(4) School-based OD should in future not just be a matter of applied behavioural science. Schmuck hopes 'that educational OD will gradually expand toward a more holistic, multiple-systems level perspective. At the moment, OD in schools emphasizes improved interpersonal relations, strengthened group processes, and an enhanced capacity for organizational problem solving' (p. 160).

(5) Finally, Schmuck believes that OD should be integrated with other change strategies: 'Educational problems and the human dynamics of schools are much too complex to be ameliorated by one theory or a single technological repertoire' (pp. 160 - 61).

7 SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

In this chapter I shall comment on and draw a number of conclusions from the preceding chapters of this report. My remarks will be arranged under the relevant chapter headings.

7.1 On OD in general

The OD movement has its principal roots in Lewin's field theory, which itself has a great deal in common with the theory of open systems. This implies a conception of organizations as organisms whose parts are in a symbiotic relationship to one another. Basic to this philosophy is the principle that the various parts of an organization adapt to and are hence in some kind of equilibrium with one another. *Adaptation* and *equilibrium* are in other words key concepts in the organic view of organizations on which OD rests. Within this framework OD has two different orientations: the social psychological and the socio-technical. Those with a social psychological approach look at organizational problems from the angle of relationships between the individuals who are members of the organization. The socio-technically oriented advocate a broader view, according to which problems can *also* be seen as a lack of equilibrium between the different parts of an organization (e.g. between the administrative and technical subsystems). Traditional OD consisted almost exclusively of applied social psychology.

Modern OD has a more socio-technical slant. It should be pointed out, however, that the difference between these two 'schools' of OD is one of degree, not an absolute difference. OD's foundations are to be found in systems theory and social psychology, and these perspectives permeate OD thinking regardless of whether the approach is 'purely' social psychological or has a more socio-technical bias.

7.2 OD in schools - the state of the art

It can be observed here that there is clearly a difference between OD in general and OD in schools. School-based OD rests primarily on the classical, social psychological tradition. Admittedly Fullan, Miles, and

Taylor draw attention to 'techno-structural' factors (which I take to be the same thing as socio-technical factors) as one of the keywords occurring in definitions of school-based OD. However, there is little if any evidence elsewhere (either in Fullan, Miles, and Taylor or in any other American writings on OD that I have examined) to support the proposition that socio-technical OD has caught on in schools to any great extent.*

It is interesting to note, also, that English school-based OD theory does not appear to have been greatly influenced by the socio-technical branch of the Tavistock school, but much more by its traditional therapeutic branch.

As we have seen, Fullan, Miles, and Taylor have a fundamentally optimistic view of OD in schools. They argue that OD interventions have without any doubt had effects on activities in schools. It is however more difficult, they feel, to identify with precision the nature of these effects and draw definite conclusions as to whether they are good or bad. This is due to the lack of clear criteria of effectiveness in schools, as a result of which there is no basis for assessing success/failure. The success of OD can thus only be gauged in terms of 'improved communication', 'better relations', and so forth. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor also point out that OD efforts are aimed exclusively at school staff and not at pupils.

The three authors go on to summarize research whose aim is to identify normative criteria of OD success (success in terms, say, of 'improved communication'). They mention, for example, that studies have shown that an OD project has to be sustained for at least two years to give 'good results'.

The criticism levelled at OD (more about this below) is itself criticized by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor. They point out, for example, that

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* This conclusion primarily applies to the period up to and including the end of the 1970s. As the interviews quoted in chapter 9 indicate, there is currently a tendency for the change strategies employed in North American schools to be influenced by a socio-technical OD approach.

there are numerous conceptions of what school OD actually is. Where, for example, do we draw the line between OD and measures designed to promote individual development? It can be added in passing that, on this basis, it is doubtful whether Fullan, Miles, and Taylor would regard what Gray calls the British OD tradition (see 2.2) as OD at all. As I understand it, their argument is that the critics are not always in fact criticizing OD; sometimes they are attacking other school change strategies which are OD only by name.

7.3 Articles critical of OD

Blumberg and Derr touch on a range of factors which, as they see it, lay the use of OD in schools open to criticism, including the following:

- School principals generally lack the organic view of organization on which OD rests.
- Staff development measures in education are based on a different tradition to that from which OD derives.
- Teachers are generally individualists; OD is crucially dependent on close collaboration among school staff.
- The social tasks of schools are not clearly defined. It is therefore difficult to measure the effects of OD interventions.
- OD has the character almost of a 'religious movement', which detracts from its claim to be serious and scientific.
- OD has been transferred to schools from industry without adequate analysis of whether it is suitable for use in education.
- OD presupposes that an organization is shaped by interaction with its environment. This condition gives rise to problems in the educational sphere.
- Teaching is a civil service profession. Consequently teachers are more interested in factors such as job security than in 'dynamic' exercise of their profession.

In view of the above, Blumberg and Derr believe that it is doubtful whether OD is likely to work in traditional American schools. It is interesting to note that, clearly, neither of them is critical of organizational systems theory *as such*. According to Blumberg, the main obstacle to OD in schools is that the people working in schools do not see

their organization in organic terms. Derr (1976), on the other hand, puts the problem as follows:

> All human organizations carry on an exchange with their external environments. They not only adapt to environmental demands but also attempt to influence or make the environment adapt to them... Public school systems are more monopolistic than most organizations... (p. 232)

I take this quotation to imply that Derr believes that activities in school organizations can be described and understood from a systems point of view, but that there is a difference - of degree - between a business organization and a school in the following respect: school activities are admittedly a function of the interaction of school and environment and between the subsystems of the school, but there is a certain - unspecified - difference between this interaction and that of a firm with its environment.

Like Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, Blumberg and Derr examine the problem of evaluating OD activities, since as a rule schools lack clear criteria of effectiveness. I shall return to this issue - which I regard as possibly the crux of the matter - below. However, in the mean time I would like to stress that in my opinion the line of reasoning taken by the above writers is logically not entirely sound. As was pointed out in the introduction to this report, concepts such as adaptation and homeostasis are at the heart of systems-oriented organization theory. An effective organization, in other words, is an adaptable organization, one capable of adjusting its production to meet the requirements of market forces and changing its production as quickly as possible when demand changes. A firm's survival is crucially dependent on its adaptability. This line of reasoning cannot be transferred lock, stock, and barrel to the field of education, where, as Derr in fact points out, 'environmental demands' are a less clear-cut factor. The lack of criteria of effectiveness pointed out by the researchers mentioned above is, in other words, a consequence of the transferring to schools of an organizational model based on a philosophy of effectiveness which is of dubious relevance to the type of organization found in education (cf. Berg, 1981, chapter 3).

7.4 Empirical studies of OD

The study which Keys and Bartunek describe deals with goal achievement and the process skills of the people working in schools. It is interesting to note that the OD goals the achievement of which the study sets out to measure are goals set by staff themselves. A 'good' school, on this basis, is one which achieves its staff's own goals; in other words, criteria of effectiveness are determined internally. What this study shows, then, is that OD has resulted in the organization working better on its (its staff's) own terms.

The study conducted by Fullan and Miles shows that the social psychological OD approach advocated by leading researchers working on school OD (e.g. Richard Schmuck) ties in closely with the way in which OD has been working in practice in the schools (school districts) completing the questionnaire. These schools have been concerned with solving communication problems, dealing with difficulties in relations, etc., i.e. doing what Fullan and Miles call 'classical OD'. The authors state explicitly that their data does not provide evidence of OD interventions being made to tackle problems of a structural nature.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that OD is a *process strategy* operating at a superficial level in school organizations. In the OD context, a school problem is the same thing as a difference between something existing and something desirable as *perceived* by school organization members. One consequence of this is that research into OD, of the kind carried on by Fullan, Miles, and others, concentrates largely on technical aspects of OD (e.g. project duration, pros and cons of external and/or internal consultants). The reason why it is not possible to draw conclusions about general OD results is perhaps that OD as such is not a result-oriented change strategy. OD is based on an organic view of organizations and is thus an organic change strategy. Its results cannot therefore be related to any very general criteria of effectiveness, but have to be understood and explained in the specific context in which change efforts are undertaken. OD is primarily a matter of techniques and procedures, and the question whether OD improves or changes for the worse a social institution like the school would, in the light of the above discussion, seem more or less impossible to answer.

The fact that the people involved in an OD project *perceive* an improvement in activities naturally need not mean that activities have in fact improved.

7.5 The Oregon group

The basic philosophy behind the Oregon group's OD work in education can be illustrated with the help of the following diagram:

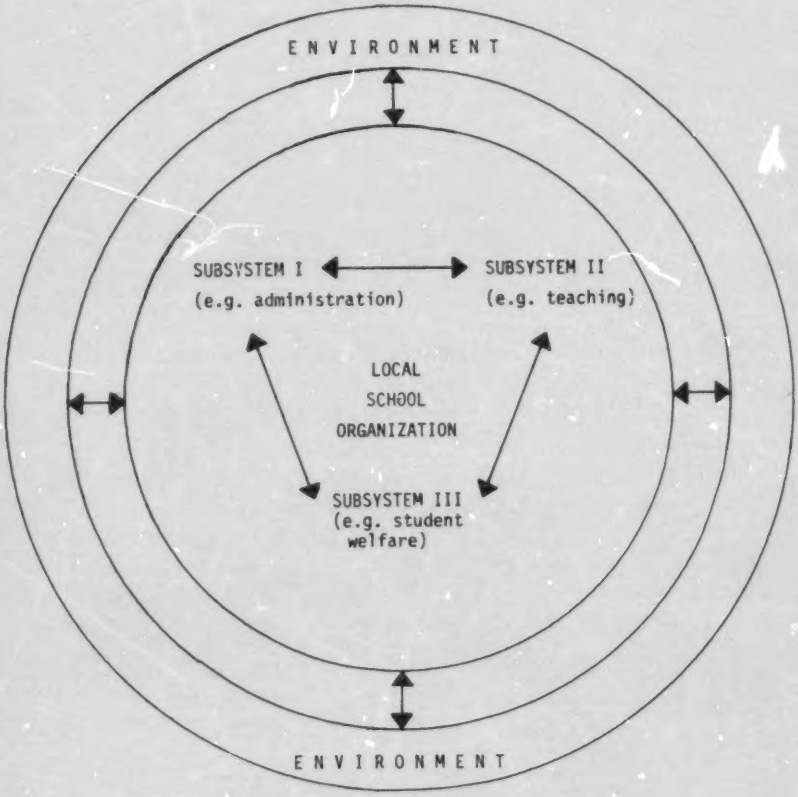

Fig. 7:1 Market control over a school

What goes on in a school is ultimately shaped by the pressure exercised by its environment ('market') on (a) the school organization as a whole and (b) the subsystems which constitute it. Ideally, OD efforts result in people in schools becoming more open-minded and hence in there being greater scope for communication in and between subsystems to improve. The school can then adapt more rapidly to internal pressure for change. As a result of greater flexibility among staff, the school also becomes more receptive to environmental pressure for improvement. These demands for change can make a rapid impact on the school's day-to-day activities since the effective channels of communication that exist pass on and 'implant' the changes in the various subsystems.

An effective organization, then, is one which is adaptable. This further underlines the conclusions I outline in 7.3, i.e. that it is OD's emphasis on procedures rather than content that explains why it is so problematical to find general criteria for the effectiveness of OD programmes. The criteria of successful OD work are to be found in the demands placed on the school organization by its environment. The effectiveness of OD can be measured in terms of how far a school meets these demands. The researchers I have reviewed sometimes tend to regard OD as an independent variable, when in actual fact 'market pressure' is the independent variable (see 8.2.2 for a more detailed discussion).

Let me try to illustrate my argument with an example. Assume we have two school districts (D1 and D2). Schools in D1 are dominated by 'traditional' teaching and those in D2 by 'progressive' education. Pressure is now brought to bear by parents (the environment or market) in D1 to persuade schools to begin to question the methods and forms to which they are accustomed and to start using more modern, 'progressive' methods of working. In D2 the tide of parental opinion turns against 'left-wing elements' who have had too much of a say about the way schools operate. There is a call for 'order in the ranks' and a return to more traditional approaches. OD activities are started in both school districts and are 'successful', with the result that education in D1 now has a more progressive slant, while the methods and forms used in D2 are more traditionally oriented. Despite the content of the two change efforts being diametrically opposed, both OD projects have succeeded. In other

words, any attempt to establish *general criteria of OD effectiveness* will run into considerable difficulty. OD, in other words, is basically a change strategy that lacks criteria.

7.6 OD in schools in the 1980s

Richard Schmuck's summary of the New York conference initially gives the impression that there is a clear and fairly uniform view among American OD researchers about the future of OD in schools. After a more careful re-read of the chapter, however, my impression changes. Those attending the conference clearly viewed the future of OD not only from a traditional 'pragmatic' angle, but also from more of a structural standpoint. The pragmatic issues mentioned in Schmuck's chapter include:

- the need for more research on the role of change agents;
- the desirability of research on the factors that determine whether or not a school is ready for an OD project;
- the need for OD not just to encompass school staff, but also new target groups, such as pupils and parents.

The conferees, like the researchers quoted earlier, also called for clearer criteria of 'effective' OD work. I have already commented on this question.

The more structural issues raised included:

- the relationship between OD theory and other theories in the social sciences;
- the effects of OD on existing power structures;
- the relationship of OD to politics in the school districts in question.

Richard Schmuck also points to the desirability of OD in schools being developed in more of a socio-technical direction.

In my opinion, Schmuck's chapter contains the seeds of an interesting development of the discussions that have dominated the OD movement to date. On the other hand, the normative/social psychological hold on OD is clearly so strong that more structurally oriented discussions are mere ripples on the surface, hardly able to disturb the social psychological value base on which OD rests. The fact that OD was discussed in both social psychological and structural terms is in my opinion symptomatic

of a confusion about the basic characteristics of OD. The question is whether this is a sign of the beginning of the end of traditional OD as a change strategy. At the root of my question is the assumption that if OD does develop along more structural lines, there is reason to ask whether this new change strategy really is OD (cf. Michael Fullan's views in chapter 9).

7.7 Summary: nine conclusions about OD

Conclusion 1:
OD is founded on an organic theory of organization, which in turn rests on a consensus-oriented, systems view of organization.

Conclusion 2:
OD has its roots in social psychology, and has also been influenced by socio-technical approaches.

Conclusion 3:
North American school-based OD has a social psychological (rather than a socio-technical) foundation. In practical application, too, OD has a high social psychology content, i.e. there is no very marked discrepancy between theory and practice.

Conclusion 4:
An OD project is shaped by the interaction of (a) the parts together making up a school and (b) the school and its environment (market).

Conclusion 5:
OD is a process strategy rather than a product strategy for bringing about change.

Conclusion 6:
OD can be regarded as a pragmatic, 'rule-of-thumb' change strategy.

Conclusion 7:
An OD project has effects on school activities. These effects can be expressed in terms of 'improved communication', 'more open relations', etc.

Conclusion 8:
There are not, however, any more general, fundamental criteria by which OD's effects on schools can be measured. This is due to the basic nature of OD. This means that an OD project can only be understood, explained, evaluated, and assessed in its own specific context. OD as such, then, is a change strategy which lacks criteria.

Conclusion 9:
Views on the future of OD in North American schools are at present in a state of confusion. In current discussions calls are being made for the traditional social psychological approach to OD to be 'mixed' with elements of a more structural nature.

8 CONTROL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE STRATEGY

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of the past seven chapters has been to examine the components out of which OD as a change strategy is built. The purpose has also been to discuss the fundamental view of school change on which OD rests. In this concluding chapter I intend to relate my earlier discussion to the aim of this report and consider the 'control structure' in which an OD approach can be accommodated. I shall also, more briefly, touch on the control structure characteristic of the Swedish school system and the change strategy which is compatible with this structure.

8.2 Market control, systems theory, and OD

Having read a range of publications about OD in North American schools (a selection of which have been reviewed in this report) and interviewed some of the people involved in school-based OD in America, one of my main impressions is that OD researchers and practitioners have problematized the *context* in which OD is done only to a very limited extent. This context can be seen at at least two levels. On the one hand we have the overall control structure, on the other the school organization which OD is intended to change. Control structures receive virtually no attention in the American OD literature. The school as an organization is occasionally examined, but, considering that that is precisely what is to be changed by OD, it is surprising how little schools are in fact analysed in organizational terms. It seems that control structure and organization are felt to be more or less self-explanatory, and the further conclusion must be drawn from this that the organization and control structure of schools are not perceived to be fundamentally different from those of other organizations. Certain researchers (Derr, 1976, and Fullan and Miles, 1978, for example) admittedly believe that the school as an organization has certain distinctive characteristics, but as far as I can understand they see them as differences of degree rather than absolute differences from other organizations. At this point I would like to state the view that *the control structure must be regarded as an independent variable and the change strategy* (e.g. OD) *as a dependent variable* in this context. The consequence of this

argument is that as far as research is concerned it only makes sense to discuss the dependent variable (the change strategy) in relation to the independent variable (the control structure). I shall elaborate on this argument below.

8.2.1 Market control over the school

The OD approaches reviewed in this report are based on a conception of schools centred on the *people* working in school organizations and on the *subsystems* in which they work. Schmuck *et al.* (1977) put this fundamental assumption in terms of

> ... regarding schools... as systems of people working interdependently at particular tasks and moving into coordination with other sets of people as they move from task to task. (p. 8)

The whole - i.e. the school as a total system - is made up of the sum of these subsystems. There is no absolute limit to the number of subsystems which can make up a school organization. Drawing the line between a school and its environment, on the other hand, can be a problem. Each of the subsystems contains people, and these people can also move from one subsystem to another.

The relationship between the subsystems of an organization is characterized by both *integration* and *differentiation*. The degree of integration and differentiation is dependent on the demands placed on the organization by its environment; what sense do Schmuck *et al.* (1977) attach to the term 'environment'? The following quotation suggests an answer to this question:

> ... school environments in contemporary society are incredibly complex and undergoing rapid change all the time. The school that was equipped to serve white, middle-class, college-bound students five years ago, for example, may now find itself with a large proportion of students having very different needs and values. (p. 10)

The meaning of 'environment' seems to be broadly the same as that attached to 'market' by other systems-oriented organizational researchers. In simplified terms 'environment' means the market in which an organization is located. The market supplies the organization with a certain

'input' (e.g. raw materials for the industrial firm, pupils for the school) and the organization processes it to produce a certain 'output' (processed goods from the firm, trained labour from the school) which then returns to the market. The organization's existence is basically dependent on there being an effective communication system between the organization and its market. If it is to survive, an organization must be able to observe signals reaching it from its environment concerning necessary changes and to adapt accordingly.

It is, however, rather doubtful whether a school's environment and a company's market are *entirely* comparable. In a later paper, Schmuck (1982b) tempers this parallel as follows:

> Unlike many industrial organizations, schools are typically less vulnerable to competition, but more vulnerable to short-run pressures in the community. Although public schools are not required to compete against one another to maintain viability the effects of many of their day-to-day procedures are readily visible to parents. Still standing largely in a non-competitive relationship to other public schools, educators often respond either laggingly or defensively to shift in their cultural, social and intellectual environments... (p. 831)

There is, in other words, a difference of degree rather than a fundamental difference in meaning between environment and market.

The relationship between school and environment is expressed by Runkel *et al.* (1979) in fundamentally the same terms as above:

> A school is an open system. So is an automobile. Both exist through their interdependence with their environments. Both take things from the environment and give things to it. An automobile deals mostly with physical matter (gasoline, water, exhaust gases, and the like), though it also gets information about what to do with those things through the steering wheel, the accelerator pedal, and other devices that communicate with its environment. Schools deal with matter, energy, and information. Except at budget time, the transmission and transformation captures most of the attention of most people inside and outside schools. (p. 27)

On the basis of the theoretical points of departure outlined above, Schmuck (1980) describes the link between the school as an organization and its environment with the aid of the following model:

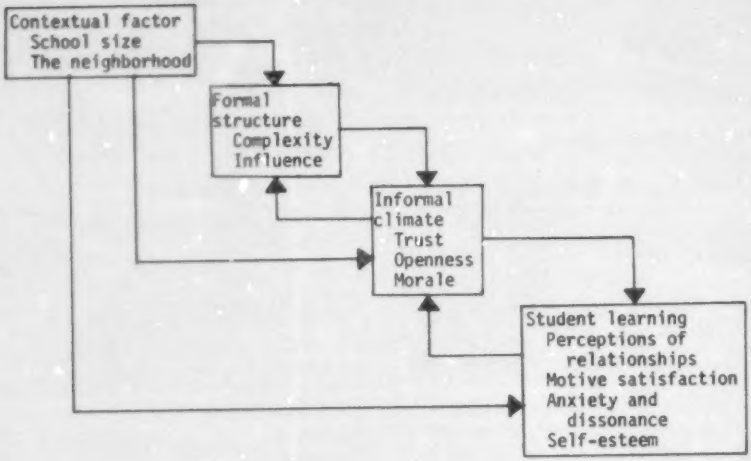

Fig. 8:1 School organization as a function of subsystems (from Schmuck, 1980, p. 186)

In this model, school organization is seen in terms of three main subsystems, formal structure, informal climate, and student learning. The model also indicates that the link between the first and second and between the second and third of these subsystems is characterized by integration in Schmuck's terms and that the relationship between formal structure and student learning appears to be more clearly one of differentiation. All these subsystems are ultimately governed by the 'contextual factor', which Schmuck breaks down into school size and neighbourhood. What we earlier described as the 'environment' of the school as an organization, using systems theory terms, would appear to correspond to this contextual factor, in particular the neighbourhood. Schmuck reviews a number of studies which indicate how the socio-economic structure of the neighbourhood influences the day-to-day activities of a school. It has been shown, for instance, that schools in well-to-do areas receive greater financial resources, have better trained principals

and teachers, and experience less tension between staff and pupils than schools in less prosperous areas.

8.2.2 Control of American schools

Control over a school can in principle be placed on a par with control of a manufacturing company - that, at any rate, is the conclusion that has to be drawn from the above discussion. It is well worth dwelling for a moment here on the control structure of the American school system as it is today.

Schools in the United States are controlled by federal, state, and to some extent local directives. Federal control is extremely general in nature and varies from one administration to the next. An example of federal direction is the great emphasis placed on the racially desegregating function of schools, above all by the Johnson Administration. One result of this was the well-known debate on busing. Under the Reagan Administration, federal guidance of school activities has focused for example on directives about the place of worship in schools and the Biblical as opposed to the evolutionary view of the origins of mankind.

At state level there are as a rule somewhat more specific directives on the work of schools. The following is an extract from the Oregon State Statutes concerning the overall goals of elementary and secondary schools:

> (1) The Board, in response to the changing needs of Oregon learners, sets forth six goals for the public schools.
>
> (2) Conceived and endorsed by Oregon citizens, the statewide goals are designed to assure that every student in the elementary and secondary schools shall have the opportunity to learn to function effectively in six life roles: INDIVIDUAL, LEARNER, PRODUCER, CITIZEN, CONSUMER, and FAMILY MEMBER. Each goal suggests the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function in these life roles.
>
> (3) The statewide goals shall be implemented through the district, program and course goals of each local school district. These local goals are set by schools and communities together to fulfill a mutual responsibility for the education of every student. Because most of the knowledge and skills needed to function effectively in the role of LEARNER are acquired in school, the school has primary responsibility for helping students achieve this goal.

(4) Each school and its community should establish priorities among the goals to meet local needs, and allocate their resources accordingly. This process should provide each student with the opportunity to achieve the requirements for graduation from high school, and as much additional schooling as school and community resources can provide.

(5) Each individual will have the opportunity to develop to the best of his or her ability the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to function as a (an):

(a) 'Individual': to develop the skills necessary for achieving fulfillment as a self-directed person; to acquire the knowledge necessary for achieving and maintaining physical and mental health and to develop the capacity for coping with change through an understanding of the arts, humanities, scientific processes, and the principles involved in making moral and ethical choices;

(b) 'Learner': to develop the basic skills of reading, writing, computing, spelling, speaking, listening, and problem-solving; and to develop a positive attitude toward learning as a lifelong endeavor;

(c) 'Producer': to learn of the variety of occupations; to learn to appreciate the dignity and value of work and the mutual responsibilities of employees and employers; and to learn to identify personal talents and interests, to make appropriate career choices, and to develop career skills;

(d) 'Citizen': to learn to act in a responsible manner; to learn of the rights and responsibilities of citizens of the community, state, nation, and world; and to learn to understand, respect and interact with people of different cultures, generations and races;

(e) 'Consumer': to acquire knowledge and to develop skills in the management of personal resources necessary for meeting obligations to self, family, and society;

(f) 'Family Member': to learn of the rights and responsibilities of family members, and to acquire the skills and knowledge to strengthen and enjoy family life.

Local control of activities in school districts may, as far as I can understand, vary considerably from one district to another. On a visit to the United States in November 1982 (see Berg & Söderström, 1983) I learnt of a local curriculum introduced by the school board in Eugene and of its consequences (see 8.3.1 for further details). Normally, however, local curricula would seem to be fairly rare in North American schools. This means that the control structure of schools in the United States differs fairly markedly from that of schools in Sweden, where schools are steered by national curricula. That is to say, the American school system is controlled far more by its *market* than, say, the Swedish

system, which I would describe as a *mandator-controlled* school system (more about this later). The difference can be illustrated as follows:

Fig. 8:2a Market versus mandator control

Clearly it cannot be said that there is 'total' market control over the US school system, since there are after all federal and state directives on schools' activities. But equally there is no such thing as total market control of American companies, whose operations are regulated in certain respects by federal and other legislation (company, anti-trust, and environmental protection laws).

The gist of my argument, then, is that in school districts with no local curriculum OD is a reasonable - and I would even go as far as to say proper - strategy for bringing about change. But, to reverse the argument, the more a school district's control structure changes from market to mandator control, the less useful OD is as a change strategy. I shall later (8.3.1) illustrate this conclusion by describing the consequences of a local curriculum being introduced by the school board in Eugene, Oregon.

8.2.3 What view of school organization is compatible with OD principles?

The question of what conception of organization forms the basis for OD has already been answered: the school organization is regarded as an organism. In this section I shall try to add a little more light and shade to this conclusion. I shall review two pieces of writing to which North American OD researchers often refer when discussing the school as an organization, namely Bidwell (1965) and Weick (1976). It should be added here, though, that it is fairly rare for researchers working with OD to carry on fundamental, analytical discussions about schools as

organizations. It is more common for their discussions to begin with an account of the various features which the writers concerned judge to be characteristic of school organization. Fullan and Miles (1978) summarize these characteristics as follows:

> 1. There is *goal diffuseness*: the organization's mission usually is stated abstractly, with output measurement a difficult matter..., partly because of the long time-line involved.
>
> 2. *Technical capability* is often suboptimal; the knowledge base underlying educational practice is relatively weak, and/or not well diffused to practitioners...
>
> 3. There are typically *coordination* problems; schools and school districts tend to be low-interdependent, 'loosely-coupled' systems ... in which goals do not connect well with means, and in which accountability is low and autonomy high. As Miles... points out, such a feature is not necessarily to be deplored: loosely coupled systems tend to be more flexible and adaptive, less a prey to environmental threat, less vulnerable to incompetence, and more innovative than are more tightly coordinated systems.
>
> 4. Schools have *boundary management* problems; the skin of the organization seems unbearably thin, over-permeable to the dissatisfied stakeholders. (Parents feel free to complain and exert pressure on teachers, but does a motorist ever get into an oil refinery to second-guess the way someone is running a catalytic cracker?)
>
> 5. An associated reality is that schools (at least public schools) are 'domesticated,' owned by their environments, and are *noncompetitive* for resources... Survival is guaranteed, and as Pincus... has suggested, the incentives for innovation are thus feeble.
>
> 6. Schools form a *constrained, decentralized* system. Although in the United States there are 16,000 districts and 125,000 separate buildings, each nominally autonomous, there are many national constraints exerted by standardized testing, a national textbook market, various accreditation and certification requirements, and a variety of legislation...
>
> (pp. 150 - 51, italics in original)

OD researchers rarely go further than this in their reflection upon the school as an organization. As I mentioned earlier, I take this to mean that the school's organizational structure is more or less taken for granted.

8.2.3.1 Structural looseness and debureaucratization

A paper sometimes quoted by OD researchers is Bidwell's paper 'The School

as a Formal Organization', published in 1965. In it, Bidwell points out to begin with that schools have only very rarely been the subject of any extensive organizational studies. He therefore calls for more studies of this kind and sees his paper as helping to encourage such studies.

Bidwell takes as his point of departure various features which he believes to be characteristic of the school as an organization. His analysis is founded on three basic assumptions:

(1) Schools have a basic service function to perform and this service is given to clients by professional people.

(2) The role structure of schools is characterized by a structurally defined dichotomy between staff and pupils.

(3) Schools have a bureaucratic structure, with the result that typical organizational characteristics include a functional division of labour, clearly defined powers, hierarchic decision making, and a relatively strict system of rules.

Bidwell refers to the organizational structure of schools with the term 'structural looseness', and goes on:

> The teacher works alone within the classroom, relatively hidden from colleagues and superiors, so that he has a broad discretionary jurisdiction within the boundaries of the classroom.
>
> In short, both the temporal division of labor and the structural looseness of school systems reinforce the professional basis of school-system activities - the discretion of staff members and subunits to determine what services are to be provided and how this is to be done. (p. 976)

A school's structural looseness is partly a result of the conflict between bureaucratic principles and what Bidwell calls 'teaching technology'. School administrators have to weigh the professional demands of teachers against the need for administrative efficiency. When doing so they must also bear in mind the tasks of the school ('public wishes').

The rest of Bidwell's paper consists largely of a review of literature which he considers relevant in this context. The research described in these sources deals with the relationships between teaching staff, other staff, and pupils, as well as among teachers themselves.

Finally, Bidwell enters upon an interesting discussion of the concept of debureaucratization, which he sees as divisible into the following components:

(1) Conflict between bureaucracy and professionalism.

(2) Conflict between the professional attitudes of teachers and the maintenance of a relationship between teachers and pupils characterized by universalism.

As far as I can tell, what Bidwell means by the latter is that teachers as a professional group have developed some form of professional code which can be *compatible with a traditional bureaucratic school structure*. In other words, Bidwell is saying that there may be a *conflict between different types of professionalism**. A possible consequence of this, according to Bidwell, is that

> ... the professionalization of teaching staffs presses for administrative adaptations in the direction of collegial interaction between administrators and teachers. (p. 1015)

As a comment on Bidwell's paper, it should be pointed out that his general aim of putting the school as an organization in the foreground and trying to analyse it as a school (and not as a firm) is of great significance. Bidwell is not explicitly influenced by any general organization theory in his analysis of the school as an organization. It would seem, though, that his discussion takes as its point of departure a basically functionalist/systems theoretical approach. Furthermore, he sees the school as an organization whose job is to provide its clients with a service. He does not attempt a critical 'problematization' of this service function.

8.2.3.2 Loose and tight coupling

Another essay on the school as an organization (or rather on 'educational organizations') which, like Bidwell's paper, is quoted relatively frequently by American students of school-based OD is Karl Weick's article 'Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems'. This 20-

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* Hoyle (1980) uses the terms 'extended' and 'restricted' to describe different types of professionalism among teachers.

page article was published in the American sociological journal *Administrative Science Quarterly* in 1976.

Weick argues that a basic principle of traditional organization theory is that organizations are coherent entities. This, however, is not characteristic of educational organizations, he goes on; the latter tend to have loosely coupled structures, i.e. they consist of component parts which are *not* bound together to form a coherent whole. In a school, for example, the principal can function more or less independently of the rest of the school's administration and of the teaching it provides. One reason why educational organizations are loosely coupled, according to Weick, is that their tasks are not clearly defined, tending instead to be fairly diffuse.

As I understand him, Weick believes that a loosely coupled organization must not necessarily strive towards tight coupling. Indeed it can be an advantage for it to remain loosely coupled. Weick supports this proposition with the following argument. An organization is shaped by its interaction with its environment. A loosely coupled organization has difficulty in adapting *all* its activities to meet the demands of the environment simply because it *is* loosely coupled. However, Weick believes, adjustment between the environment and one or more of the loosely coupled parts may be enough to guarantee the organization's survival. Another consequence of loose coupling is that if one of the subsystems breaks down, this does not necessarily mean that the organization as a whole cannot survive.

Weick's arguments are as I see it a rather extreme variant of the traditional systems view of organizations. Interaction does not primarily take place between the organization as a whole and its environment, but rather between the environment and the individual, loosely coupled parts of the organization.

The concepts of tight and loose coupling are without doubt useful tools for clarifying the interconnection or lack thereof between the various parts of an organization. However, to try, as Weick does, to build up some kind of 'theory' to demonstrate the desirability of loosely coupled systems amounts only to an extreme watering down of the concept of

organization as such. I also wonder whether the concept of loose coupling really does represent a new departure; is Bidwell's 'structural looseness' not essentially the same thing as 'loose coupling'?

I find it rather remarkable that this almost anarchistic article (cf. Ellström, 1983) should have received so much attention in North America. The fact that it has is perhaps symptomatic of the confusion that currently seems to surround organizational studies of schools.

8.3 Consequences of a new control structure

In the light of my discussion in this chapter, fig. 8:2a can be elaborated on as follows:

	⟵	⟶
Control structure	Market	Mandator
View of school organization	Organism	?
Change strategy	OD	?

Fig. 8:2b Market control in relation to OD

What this diagram means is that control structure is the independent variable and change strategy the dependent variable. The school as an organization can here be seen as an intermediate variable. The question to be addressed, then, is what consequences for the intermediate and the dependent variable are entailed by a change in the independent variable (the control structure). Below I shall illustrate this important question by describing a specific case, involving a change in control structure in Richard Schmuck's home town of Eugene, Oregon.

8.3.1 Problems encountered in OD work in Eugene

During a visit to Eugene (see Berg & Söderström, 1983) I was informed that a local curriculum, recently adopted by the school board, had changed the control structure of the town's school system. This curri-

culum, known as *Middle School Guidelines*, covers grades 6, 7, and 8, i.e. the last year of elementary school and the first two years of junior high school. The guidelines comprise both outline class schedules for each grade and more general ideological thoughts on education. The curriculum calls for changes in traditional school activities, one aim of which is to ease the transition from elementary school, where each class has most of its lessons with one teacher, to junior high school, with its subject teacher system. To make the transition as smooth as possible it is, according to the guidelines, necessary for teachers to co-operate more closely between and within the two types of school. In addition, there must be less rigid boundaries between the different subjects at junior high school.

The new curriculum has clearly given rise to some protest on the part of the teaching profession in the district, who to all appearances have an entirely traditional view of their professional role - i.e. they are 'lone wolves' and subject specialists. They wonder why school activities which have been successful in the past should be changed.

Where does the OD cadre, whose work was described in 5.1.3, fit in here? After all, an OD consultant is supposed to be neutral and work on the basis of the client school's wishes. Is it possible and reasonable for the consultant to violate these basic principles and concentrate his or her efforts on promoting school change in line with the aims expressed in a curriculum? We put this question to a member of the cadre and were given the following answer:

> This is a real dilemma for cadre people... What people in the cadre ordinarily would like to do is to be a process consultant, not a content consultant... People are trying to be very careful not to get locked into a corner of being the school district's 'hired gun'.

According to the cadre philosophy, our informant went on, school administrators have to take responsibility for matters of content, leaving cadre members to continue to perform their more social psychological roles. Consequently, collaboration between school and consultant might function as follows: the principal may set up staff committees whose task is to suggest how the new guidelines can be put into practice in

the school; consultants can then come in, say, to improve communication in and between these committees. The job of the consultant is thus to create effective channels for information and decision making, while keeping out of a direct involvement with content. The cadre will in this way remain a service organization which turns out when school staff need help in certain clearly defined situations.

It would of course, our interviewee agreed, be possible to create a new type of consultant, one of a more 'ideological' kind, with the job of helping to implement the *content* of the new guidelines. However, it would hardly be realistic to expect present cadre members to assume such a function, since one of the main reasons why people volunteer to join the cadre is that they wish to develop their own skills in the areas in which the cadre is functioning at present.

To include the new guidelines, the consequences of which are briefly described above, fig. 7:1 can be amended as shown overleaf (fig. 8:3).

The introduction of this new curriculum entails a new control strategy in the school system of Eugene. Control over schools is, following the adoption of the guidelines, no longer the internal concern of schools and their immediate environments. Criteria for deciding what school activities are acceptable have in other words been moved *outside* individual schools. Members of staff protest against this new control strategy, at a loss to understand why procedures which work well need to be changed. I take this to mean that schools are working well in terms of the old market control model, based on the adaptation of schools to their socio-economic environments. In the systems sense, they can thus be said to be in equilibrium. Measured against the criteria of the curriculum - that is, criteria laid down outside the immediate domain of individual schools - school activities are, however, clearly less successful. In other words, problems can no longer be defined in terms of interaction between school and neighbourhood (market), but have to be defined in terms of discrepancies between the aims embodied in the curriculum (i.e. those of the mandator) and actual school activities.

The cadre of OD consultants appears to be placed in an awkward position by the new curriculum. Their knowledge base comprises a range of OD

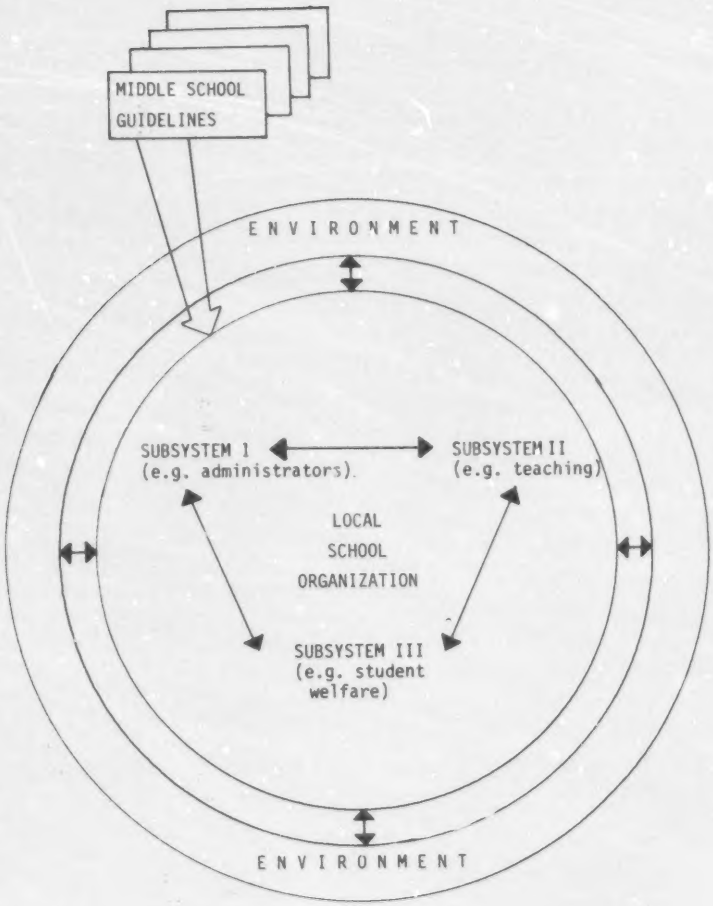

Fig. 8:3 Mandator control over the school

techniques which depend for their usefulness on a high level of readiness for OD interventions among clients. This readiness is dependent on the problem which forms the basis of the consultant's work being one of major concern to the clients - i.e. clients must have defined the problem themselves. If pressure for change is brought to bear forcibly from outside, this readiness will presumably be greatly reduced and one of the mainstays of the OD consultant's work thus removed.

The informant whom I quoted earlier gave an example of how an OD consultant could assist in efforts to implement the new guidelines, assuming responsibility for the more technical aspects of the process. This is of course perfectly possible, but the fact remains that the problem has been defined externally and readiness for change is thus limited.

Another problem that arises if a consultant of the kind I have described here is to be engaged in a development project instigated by a curriculum, with the task of trying to push the development of a school in the direction of curriculum objectives, is that he or she then ceases to be neutral. The consultant ends up as more of an advocate of the underlying ideology of the curriculum.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that two basic prerequisites of the work of OD consultants are radically undermined if their role shifts from that of 'process' consultants to 'content' consultants (or from OD to DO consultants, to use my terms - see 8.4 below). That is to say, the consultant has to

- relinquish his/her insistence on neutrality and impartiality, and
- be prepared to work in schools with a lower degree of readiness.

The cadre system would appear to be tailor-made for creating a high self-renewing capacity in OD terms in client schools. But when the control structure governing school activities changes from market control to control dominated more by the mandator of the school system, the usefulness of an OD cadre of the kind described earlier clearly decreases. What is needed is a new type of school consultant, concentrating more on closing the gap between school reality and curriculum aims.

The example outlined above demonstrates how the type of control structure determines the type of change strategy. The American education system does not, like its Swedish counterpart, have a homogeneous control structure. Some schools are controlled more by their 'markets', others more by their mandators. The practical consequences of a change from one control structure to another are I believe quite clearly demonstrated by the example given.

8.4 The alternative: mandator control, rationalist theory, and OD

My conclusion, then, is that the more a control structure tends to be dominated by the mandator, the less relevant OD is as a change strategy. One question raised by this conclusion is what view of school organization, and what change strategy, is compatible with a mandator-oriented control structure. This problem is examined in detail elsewhere (e.g. Wallin & Berg, 1983, and Berg & Wallin, 1983). I shall therefore restrict myself here to an extremely brief discussion.

Not all organizations are business firms, nor do they have the same tasks and functions as firms. Schools, for instance, are institutions set up by society/the State to perform certain specified tasks. Society or the State can thus be regarded as the *mandator* of the work of schools. Planning is a crucial concept as far as control of this type of organization is concerned. The organization is created to achieve certain aims which the mandator considers desirable. Thus the organization is a 'product of the plans of an acting subject' rather than of organically 'natural' processes (cf. Abrahamsson, 1977, p. 138).

The approach embodied in neo-rationalist theory (cf. also Berg, 1983) corresponds to the view of organization outlined in the last paragraph. Abrahamsson describes the foundations of this organization theory in such terms as the following:

> The rationalist perspective seeks the answer to the question of the organization's existence in its *tasks*. The organization is perceived as a goal-directed structure, established by some party for the explicit purpose of getting some kind of work done. The different parts of the organization are subordinated to this purpose.

> In rationalistic theory, goals represent an independent variable, and the organizational structre a dependent variable.
> (p. 172 and p. 122, italics in original)

A change model founded on this view of organizations is in my opinion not compatible with an OD philosophy, whether of the social psychological or socio-technical variety. An attempt to understand and explain the day-to-day work schools do must take into account the fact that they are institutions created by society to perform specific tasks. And thus, equally, a change strategy for use in schools has to be compatible with their overall control structure. Elsewhere (see Berg & Wallin, 1983), Professor Wallin and I have evolved a change model - which we call the DO model - which is in harmony with the control structure governing Swedish schools. The key concepts of this strategy are *boundaries* or *limits* and *knowledge*. If schools are to develop in line with society's educational aims, and if it is to be possible, moreover, to criticize and question these aims, school staff and other interested parties must have a basic knowledge of the forces defining the limits of school activities. What I am referring to is, first, an understanding of the school as a societal institution charged with often conflicting tasks. And, in addition, knowledge relating to curricula as instruments of control, the school as an organization, and the potential for and conditions governing local school development.

8.5 Conclusion

In the light of this discussion, figs. 8:2a and 8:2b can be further elaborated as follows:

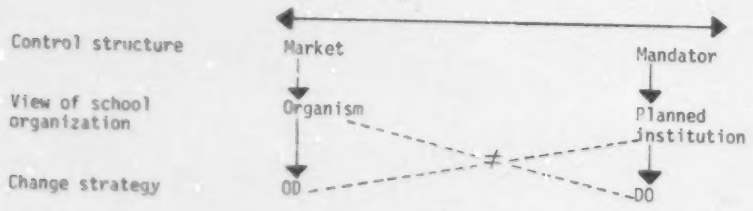

Fig. 8:2c Control structure in relation to change strategy

The point I am trying to make here, then, is that OD is a fruitful change strategy in an organization controlled by its market, while what I have termed DO is similarly serviceable in an organization controlled by its mandator. It would appear more problematical, however, to use DO in a traditional American school or OD in a Swedish school.

9 COMMENTS BY MATTHEW MILES AND MICHAEL FULLAN

9.1 Introduction

Matthew Miles, as has already been mentioned, was one of the pioneers of school-based OD in North America. In the interview conducted in Stockholm on 20 October 1983, which is quoted in full below, Miles chiefly gives his views on some of the nine conclusions drawn at the end of chapter 7 (see 7.7). He is also critical of the distinction between OD and DO which I make in chapter 8.

Michael Fullan has not been directly involved in school-based OD to quite the same extent as Miles. Fullan has conducted research into development and change in schools in a broader perspective, in which he sees OD as one of several possible change strategies. The views put by Fullan below relate primarily to the previous chapter of this report. He gave his views at a seminar in Uppsala on 21 October 1983 on the basis of an abbreviated version of chapter 8 (Berg, 1984).

9.2 Interview with Matthew Miles

Gunnar Berg:
- Do you think that you can add anything to what you wrote three or four years ago in your review article* ? Has the state of the art in the school-based OD field changed in any way?

Matthew Miles:
- I don't know, but I suspect that the number of schools doing something like OD, which they would call OD, has not changed very much. There are probably a few advances in methods and so forth. You probably know that Schmuck and Runkel are making a third handbook now? So there might be perhaps some incremental improvement in the use of OD in schools. But I would predict that the diffusion of OD probably has not become more extensive. On the other hand, the number of schools doing what they now call *school improvement* is very large. I can give you a copy of a paper

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* See 2.3

on so-called effective schools programmes, which use OD principles. They don't call it OD, but it involves improving internal climate, improving instruction, increasing internal communication, and so forth. The difference, I think, is that there is somewhat less attention to what might be called process improvement. For example, it's less likely to involve training on process issues and somewhat more likely to work on educational tasks - for example, 'How can we revise the reading programme?', 'How can we reduce the drop-outs and alienation?', and so forth. The programmes in a way link organizational attention and educational attention.

G.B.:
- More task-oriented, so to speak.

M.M.:
- Yes, somewhat more. Or, to put it another way, it's a more socio-technical approach. We did a national survey of school improvement programmes, a programme being a well-developed set of procedures (for example, collecting data about the state of the school, feeding it back, making a diagnosis, making an improvement plan, managing the plan, a kind of school-based review of the process). We found a total of 39 different programmes, some from universities, some from school districts themselves, some from state departments of education. They covered over 3,000 schools in 25 different states. There is a very large amount of effort called 'effective schools' or 'effective teaching'. Some of them have a main emphasis on teaching skills, some of them have really a school improvement emphasis: they are working with things like: 'How can our climate be changed?', 'How can we develop common high expectations?'... Now, is it OD? Not exactly.

G.B.:
- Is it something more?

M.M.:
- It's something more and something less. It's more technical in the sense that it deals with educational tasks and it probably is less profoundly changing than some OD interventions. But the important point is that it has developed only in the last approximately seven or eight

years, so it has moved very rapidly. It began in the big cities and it was not initiated by the universities, it was initiated by people trying to deal with the severe problems of schools in large cities.

G.B.:
- It's very interesting that you mention that improvement work now has a more socio-technical approach. I've studied quite a lot of articles and books and so on about OD in general and about the application of OD in schools, and my impression from studying what has been written about OD in general is that you can divide the OD movement into two different parts. The first, and the traditional, part is the social psychological aspect, and the second is the more socio-technical side. But from studying articles about OD in schools I get the impression that the OD movement in schools has been greatly dominated by the social psychologist. Do you agree on that, or what are your comments?

M.M.:
- I think it's probably true. You have to speak of Schmuck and Runkel as a sort of central initiators. And I think it's true that their early work was mostly social psychological, mostly emphasizing the relations among adults in the system and less emphasizing learning methods, less emphasizing curriculum and what might be called the technology of teaching. In think that's accurate. It was a matter of emphasis, I think. There were many exercises, for example, in the Schmuck and Runkel handbook which dealt directly with educational content and technology. But the emphasis was much more on problems of planning, communication, norms, etc., and not so much on 'Which reading programme do we use?' The aim was to improve people's capacity to manage their lives and the assumption was, OK, then they will do better teaching.

G.B.:
- I have another question, or me at least a very crucial question. In your review articles and also other articles of yours about OD, you very often discuss the fact that it's hard to judge the effects of OD efforts in general terms. I think you say in your articles that this is a real problem. It's kind of hard to judge whether it is a question of improvement or whether it is a question of failure. And my point is this: what kind of strategy is OD, is it a theory or a technology? The point of

departure for OD work, as far as I can understand, is that the problems are defined *within* the schools, and OD works on the basis of the problem which has been defined within the school itself. But this means that criteria of effectiveness, criteria of whether it is a failure or a success, can only be interpreted in terms of the problem that a school has expressed, and the problems can differ quite widely. And this means, as I see it, that it's nearly impossible to find general criteria for whether OD is a failure or a success, due to the fact that OD can only be interpreted on the basis of the problem that the school has defined. Do you understand what I'm...

M.M.:
- I understand, but I don't agree. First, the initiating problems or difficulties are not necessarily only defined by the school, they could be defined by the *district* in the United States, they could be externally defined. And in a European country they could be defined almost at the level of the ministry. So that is one difference. Second, I think it's possible to look at the outcomes of OD not only in terms of whether the original problem was solved; that's too narrow. Rather, OD tries to improve the more general *health* of the organization. Schmuck and Runkel *et al.* have a very good book called *Transforming the School's Capacity for Problem Solving*, and you could say from that point of view OD's effects should be judged as to whether you have increased the problem-solving capacity of the school: can the people in the school mobilize energy, can they diagnose, take effective action, and so forth? An OD intervention which *only* solves the immediate problem is useful, but it's very different from trying to strengthen the capacity of the school to solve future problems in a systematic way. So the idea of capacity improvement has to be seen as one outcome of intervention.

G.B.:
- Do you mean then that it is possible to establish some sort of general criterion for what is a good OD effort? I think that the problem in these articles is that you discuss a success and/or failure in terms of, for instance, increased capacity for communication, increased capacity for better relations, and so on. To me all these criteria are superficial, you don't really get to the basic point. I mean, why do we have schools? To me OD is a process strategy rather than a theory, more a normative

strategy than a theory. It has its point of departure in the fact that you can solve different kinds of problems, but the kind of problem must be interpreted in terms of the source that defined it - regardless of whether this source is a school itself or a district or even society as a whole. So from that point of departure I think general criteria are in fact very hard to find.

M.M.:

- In a practical way I don't think they are. In a practical way, if we are doing in OD in schools, people will feel happy with the work if first of all the difficulties or problems we began with are solved. Secondly there is a practical criterion of learning to solve future problems. At the practical level I think it's not difficult. It's a success if the presenting problems are solved, and the problems may be at a rather superficial level or they may be at a rather profound level. If the problem is for example very poor performance on reading tests by many children, if there are problems of truancy, etc. - they go to the heart of what the school is trying to do; it's not only a matter of whether we understand each other in staff meetings. So outcome 1 is that we have solved at least the problems we began the project with. Outcome 2 is really a matter of whether we can sustain our performance for the future, continue to have a good climate for students, continue to deliver better instruction, deal with new problems as they come, keep modernizing our methods, and so forth. That's the capacity change. It's much easier to define *failure*, which is essentially that the development process stops, the social psychology of the organization is not improved or becomes worse. There is a book of case studies of OD failures from Michigan. It's failures in organization development and change. It's not school OD, it's general OD.

G.B.:

- May I ask you a question about the future? You have already touched on it. I have been reading an article by Dick Schmuck about OD in the 1980s, I think it is in a reader published in England. What he is doing, among other things, in that article is summarizing a conference that you had in New York three years ago. You got together a lot of prominent OD researchers and you discussed the future of OD and so on. In this article he is very optimistic about the future of OD, but from reading it I

get the impression that the discussion at this congress was divided into two parts. One part was so to speak the more pragmatic aspects of OD, for instance, that more research is necessary on the change agent role and that it's also necessary to expand the target groups for OD to both parents and pupils. That is what I would call a more pragmatic view of OD. And the second aspect is what I would call the more structural approach: for instance, the relationship between OD and other social sciences and the relationship between OD and the political levels. Do you agree with this, is that a good way of summarizing your discussions during that conference? Or would you put the emphasis on one of these two, or on something else?

M.M.:
- Yes, I think it sounds as if the first questions are what might be called technical: 'How can we do OD better?' so to speak. And the second sort of question is more general: what is the value of OD and how does it fit into society? Is OD only a way to, say, make people happy in a fundamentally invalid system? Or something like that. The second sort of question requires looking at the value dimensions.

G.B.:
- And what I'm wondering is, if you talk about the second dimension, is that really OD? Doesn't OD have its part to play in connection with what I call the more pragmatic aspects? If you expand it towards what I call more structural aspects, is it really OD we are talking about? Isn't the label OD inappropriate in that case?

M.M.:
- No, I think you can ask a fundamental question about what is the place of OD. OD is simply a change strategy, but you can ask rather fundamental questions about what the place of the change strategy is in a larger society. If you like I can send you an article which I've written on the ethics of OD*, which deals with rather fundamental questions - for example, should you always accept a client? For example, you could do OD with an organization of criminals, or OD for one side or another. I gave some

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* Miles, M. 1979. Ethical issues in OD: should we care? *OD Practitioner*, 11, 1979.

examples of where value issues came into play, so that, for example, I would refuse to work with a certain client. And you must also ask the question, how do you judge, from a fundamental value basis, the benefits and risks there may be, in terms of damage to people and so on. For me it's enough to simply keep the label 'OD' to discuss the issues of the concrete change strategy, but that strategy has back of it many more fundamental questions. For example, is OD only a servant of élites? Do the OD strategies reinforce the existing order? Do OD strategies ask people to ignore fundamental difficulties in social systems, for example injustice? All of those questions can be asked, but I don't think it requires making a new name for OD.

G.B.:
- May I ask you finally, have you had a chance to look at our reprint*, and do you have any comments to make on this paper?

M.M.:
- I did not have time to look at this in more depth, and I would like to. This one** I reviewed again. In my opinion, I don't think the distinction of DO versus OD is necessary. All organizations exist in larger frames and have outer boundaries and possibilities. I think it's true that the OD movement has historically paid much less attention to environmental issues, the issues of the environment of the organization, its market, its constraints, and so forth. Historically there has probably been much more attention to the functioning of the organization as it now exists and trying to optimize it in some way, and less attention to either constraints or boundaries, 'How do we expand our freedom of movement?', and so forth. I don't think there is anything inherent in OD as such that would require such a limitation. The distinction you make between OD and DO doesn't mean anything to me, it's not necessary.

G.B.:
- So what you are saying is that DO can also be OD, so to speak?

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* Berg (1984)
** Wallin & Berg (1983)

M.M.:
- There is no difference. In both cases you are trying to assist an organization to examine its current state, including its relation to its environment, to make a diagnosis of its own functioning, internally or in relation to its environment, to plan strategies of intervening in itself or improve whatever the difficulties are seen to be, and to continue that process, to improve self-renewing capacity. For me the distinction as to whether you are looking inward or outward or both makes no difference, and I would always, in working with the client, want to know what their constraints are, what their boundaries are, what the frame is within which they are working, what the market is, what the input from their environment is, what they think of their output, and so on. So the distinction is not a distinction to me.

G.B.:
I have written a short paper in which I talked about steering and control structures and I describe them in terms of market versus mandator. What I am trying to say is that there is a difference: if the market is steering what action takes place in schools, it is possible to describe the events that take place in terms of systems theory; but, on the other hand, if there is a very strong emphasis on mandator steering and control - which is quite a different steering system - then in my view it is rather hard to describe the events taking place in that kind of structure, that kind of context, in terms of systems theory. In my view, OD is a proper change strategy if you have market steering, so to speak, and I think what we call DO is a change strategy which corresponds to what we call a mandator control system.

M.M.:
- At that very meeting which Dick is reporting on, the New York meeting, there was a very interesting discussion on how OD work changed over the years in New York. In the early years the school defined the problems, and they would work directly with whatever problems the school defined. So there was in a sense autonomous problem definition, planning, development, and so forth. Later, there was a strong shift: the central administration began requiring school leaders to collect and supply certain data on outcomes, and to make collaborative plans for improvement with

their staffs. There was much coercion from outside the school, *plus support* in carrying out OD work. But it was still called OD. The fundamental processes were the same, even though it was being mandated.

9.3 Michael Fullan's comments at the Uppsala seminar

Michael Fullan:
- I could perhaps make a few points, issues that I want to raise, or let's say problems. I think the first point is that the criticism of the OD basis is very accurate. In other words, as you describe in the paper, the people who are doing organizational development are assuming a certain readiness and autonomy on the part of the school and also focus on process issues within the school, and really don't contribute very much to the content side. To state your conclusion in another way, most of the changes now in education have more substance to them in a policy sense than before, and therefore people doing OD are not able to handle the content of the reforms that they are expected to deal with. So that's one point on which I more or less agree with you.

The second point is really to say that OD has kind of died off, nobody is coming to that Mecca any more, to speak in North American - that states it a little bit too strongly, but not very much. I wish to say that the whole OD approach, which was very popular let's say in the early 1970s, now - within educational systems - is not really talked about much. So there is a way in which you may be - do you know the expression? - flogging a dead horse. You're criticizing something that's already lost a lot of its attraction and activity and doesn't get so many funds and which people don't use. That's the second point I wanted to make, anyway. As Eugene was saying, you have what is left over from a large amount of activity before and is now decreasing so much, in some ways disappearing in the form in which it existed before.

The third point I wanted to make is that what has replaced OD in the sense which I think is closer to your notion of DO is a lot of good research on what we might call technical assistance. There are some papers on this - you mentioned David Crandel, for example. They've just completed a large-scale study. I think you know the name of it - it's called DESSI - 'Dissemination Efforts Supporting School Improvement'. It was a

three-year study in the United States, where they looked at what happened to a lot of innovations as they were worked in the schools. They were very much innovations that in some ways were of the mandated type, because people in authority were making decisions and the innovation would be a new science curriculum or maybe parents' involvement in decision making. They were specific innovations that had been developed through funds of various sorts and that were involved in this mechanism in the United States which has to do with - I don't want to get into too much of a digression here, but the national diffusion network it's called. The national diffusion network in the United States is a system to promote innovations which has really two or three main features. One feature is that innovations that are developed in the country are eligible to be incorporated into this new national diffusion network, which has in a sense a screening mechanism that looks at the quality of the innovations in terms of 'Is the innovation specific?', 'Is there evidence that it works?', 'Does it have a possibility of transferring to others and training?', and so forth. The federal government puts money into identifying and then introducing these innovations for possible use into the national diffusion network, which is then advertised so that people across the country know what's involved and what's available to be used. And then for schools that might be interested in using one of these innovations there are two final parts. One is the system of funds, what are called in the United States 'linkage agents' or 'facilitators', so that there are people in each of the fifty states whose job - full-time - is to be an information linker between the national diffusion ideas or other ideas and what local schools might have. They have conferences, they try to demonstrate what's available, they help schools arrange choices. And then the last part of it is that if a school decides to use one of these innovations, the federal government provides the money for training, where the people who developed the innovation are the trainers and they come and train and provide assistance to the people who want to use it; so it's information plus people.

There are other examples of this - a whole new movement, for example, looking at what are called 'effective schools' and certain characteristics and then developing projects to deal with those characteristics. There is a lot of research done, including examples of analysing success that really focus on this question of technical assistance and deal

much more with the content of change as well as the process of change. What I'm saying, to make a long story short, is that research is more relevant, I think, to your notion of wanting to go forward with the concept of developing organizations because it does deal with the content.

I just have perhaps two more points to make and then I will stop. Near the end of the paper you talk about the need, under the mandated system of developing organizations, to provide more help in a sense on the content of reform, and I agree with you on that, but I want to make a... In one sense you've compared OD as focusing on process and your DO as focusing on content, OK? Now, what I want to suggest is that there is another aspect of process, not so much the OD type, that has to be involved, and that is process in what we might call the management of innovation. I'll be more specific. The research that I'm talking about, where these technical assisting people have been effective, has demonstrated that, either within one individual or a combination of people, they are providing help on the content or what we might call their particular knowledge and expertise about the nature of the change, the curriculum or the reform, but they also are providing help on how to design training, how to develop local plans, how to, for example, set up a sequence of activities that will result in effective in-service education. So that knowledge about how to support a school in developing and using an innovation and particularly for example how to evaluate, how to use that information, how to develop plans and how to design in-service education, and what are the features of it - those are things that I would call process skills in the management of change which are not content in a reform. So my main point is the necessity to have both of those sets of skills in your DO model, the management of change and the technical content skills, and be able to see ways in which those can be brought together so as to reinforce each other.

And the last point, just to elaborate further: in this paper at least you just start to talk about the DO approach and the idea of DO is not very developed as to what it really means, what it would look like. Just a moment ago I gave one example of how it could be developed, which is this notion of integrating management of change and content ideas into design, but it would require elaborating the theory of what are components

of DO in that respect. I think that's an important theory to develop because, when I look at the reforms in Sweden - which I don't know other than from reading some papers in English - the decentralization efforts, there are a lot of assumptions about the capacity of the school to develop plans and to make certain choices about how to work with curriculum and within those choices how to design effective in-service education for itself, for the teachers, how to perhaps assess where they're going, revise plans; and that local plan development and local plan implementation is really I think where it is most important to develop the set of OD skills. They require this combination of 'How can a school be helped to do that?' as well as the relevant expertise that would be needed doing it. So in one sense it's a mandated change, but there's still the question of its emphasizing local autonomy; and I think the reform will fail to the extent that - well, to put it one way, it's highly unlikely that schools will currently have the capacity to develop those plans - most schools - and therefore there needs to be some assistance in helping to develop and support that capacity. And that requires, you know, taking your ideas where you left off and working from there. That's just some ideas as a first reaction.

Gunnar Berg:
- What you're saying is that the OD strategy has gone out of fashion. Would you say that the real reason for that is that the steering and control system has moved from more market control to greater mandator control? Do you agree on the point that the school districts - at least in the United States, I guess it's quite different in Canada - do you agree that many school districts are steered and controlled by the market rather than by what I call mandator control?

M.F.:
- Well, I think the reason that OD went out of fashion is that it didn't work, which is your criticism, that it didn't work because the conditions weren't right. Whether it was a market and whether there is more of a mandate now, I don't know. I can give one reaction: there has been a change, to some degree, if we think of this in terms of degrees rather than absolutes as you mentioned, towards providing more mandated direction to schools. During the 1960s, when a lot of changes were developed, there was a market assumption that if the ideas were good, probably

schools would take up these ideas and there would be no problem if the ideas were good. So there was definitely a market assumption in the 1960s. And during the 1970s, especially the first several years of the 1970s, most of the research was analysing why these innovations failed, it was documenting failure, and so, in a sense, the market system wasn't working. You probably know the paper on loosely coupled educational systems. It was an analysis that said, 'The educational system is very loosely coupled'. In your own terms, if the kind of system works like a market system, that would be the image. And since then, since this failure, there has been much more of a mandated direction, which is in a sense to tighten the coupling and therefore provide more directive work. One example, to be very specific, is training of and emphasis on the role of school principal in Canada and the United States as a direct leader of curriculum implementation, not necessarily the expert in the content, but planning with teachers, making sure that certain in-service education works, evaluating it and putting pressure on the system to get it; so there is a general direction that is closer to the mandated form. But just one last point: schools of course still resist the mandate pretty easily - if they don't like it they just don't implement it - so in that sense the mandate is not necessarily a mandate that's really controlling them.

G.B.:
- You give a rather pessimistic picture of the state of the art in OD. When you wrote your famous article three or four years ago the impression you gave was more optimistic than the one you give now. Does that mean that things have changed a lot in the last three or four years?

M.F.:
- No, I think it means that - I guess if I were doing it over again I would have changed the conclusion a little bit. What we found was a lot of hidden OD which we didn't know was there, so in one sense it was recognizing that part that was existing more so than other people had documented, but I think our conclusion is perhaps too strong in terms of saying that it's healthy and moving forward. But I'm not even saying now that OD is irrelevant. I think some of the specific concepts they deal with, like improving communications systems, managing conflict, and so on, are very relevant to the management of the change process that I've

described, it's just that they didn't work when they were content-free. People who were working with them were too frustrated: 'We're sitting around talking and not getting anywhere. What are we trying to do?' And there's much more emphasis now on the nature of the changes being proposed, and on what should happen, and people are more impatient about process skills. What I'm saying then is what has to be retained from OD is the process skills, but they have to be integrated into more of a task-oriented direction around a particular change. So, for a school principal who is trying to lead change, skills in terms of conducting meetings are obviously relevant to doing things. I would say the major change in schools now, and the major area of optimism that I have, is a move away from the individualism of teaching to the collective, even small-group collectivity. You've talked a bit about professionalism before, but there are examples now where in the technical assistance area change is being successful - and that is when a small number of teachers are interacting on some regular basis with an external support person or principal or whatever. And you can see potentially the change towards more of a collective professionalism, where teachers are influencing each other as well as outsiders influencing the teachers, whereas before I think what happened was the outside influence went into the school and it disappeared in the greater individualism that was there. Now things are being developed and tightened more, the degree of interaction within the school, among the teachers and between the teachers and the principal, or between the teachers and a consultant at the local board level, or whatever it is - that's where it's trying to work, or is working.

Susan Opper:
- I have a question, which is to get a further clarification. It also relates to what Gunnar was trying to ask. Do you think that organizational development has fallen out of favour because there's been a shift from market forces over to mandator control? You are talking about organizational development within educational spheres. Isn't it so that organizational development in other spheres - business, industry, whatever - has also rather paled, for similar reasons perhaps?

M.F.:
- Well, I don't know it enough to really say with any authority. I see

the books on organizational development in business and glance at them once in a while and I think that in general comparisons Gunnar's analysis is right: the business system with a market context perhaps is more conducive to OD doing something. That's more or less a comparative statement. But then if you look at it in more of a societal trend, I think one would have to say that there is more directive focus, I guess, even in business, on getting things done, action, and there is I think a very good book that's quite popular now, called *In Search of Excellent Companies*. The authors' names are Peters and Waterman and in fact it's quite a popular book, but it is a very well done organizational book as well. They looked at 60 successful American companies, companies that had had a reputation of being successful over the past 20 years, and they did a lot of analysis of their procedures and interviews, and then characterized the nature of these companies. Well, they came up with about ten principles of action. One of the principles was that these companies were characterized by intense interaction; they were characterized by what they called a bias for action, in other words they didn't sit around talking about things, they got things done; they were characterized by using information and identifying and getting information, having a way of using it; and those are all similar I think to the greater professional interactionism that is occurring within an organization and that is symptomatic, I would say, of tighter resources and more emphasis on getting things done with the smaller resources that are available now than was the case 15 years ago.

Björn Odin:

- I've been thinking about the Swedish system, where for many years we have had mandator control. I think it is possible to explain this problem from another point of view, that is, that we haven't been interested in schools as organizations. We were interested in schools as places where teachers were working, and the support system was more directed to teachers, teacher training, and in-service training. And when we started to look at schools as organizations, then we just tried to pick up some ideas about what people were doing in other organizations and what we found was that this sort of OD was popular. But we haven't worked out our own strategy for support systems for schools as organizations. I wonder, have you got any ideas about what directions we should try to work in just to get some sort of strategy of our own?... Do you think

it's OK to describe it like this?

M.F.:

- Yes, I think it is. If you take a couple of ideas at a time: mandated systems don't seem to work if they're just mandated. What I'm saying in effect, and what this other research says, is that if you have a combination of pressure, which comes from mandate, and support, which comes from technical assistance, if you can get these two things together, something will happen; but if you have one or the other, one without the other, it's not very effective. So in a relatively mandated system what you need to have is a support or technical system, or whatever we call it, that will take advantage of the pressure of the mandate but do it in a way that helps the development and the ideas that... One way of saying it is that OD was right about the problem, which is the need to focus on the organization, but the OD solution itself was the wrong solution. So that doesn't mean go away from the organization, it means approach the organization differently. I can only say what is happening in North America - the solutions, if you like, and they are not helping across the board - but the major emphasis at the elementary school, for example, is on the role of the school principal as an organizational leader. That's not necessarily the solution that would work in every country, it depends on the traditions and the expectations for the role of the principal, but building up the capacity of the school principal as somebody who can work with teachers as a group, planning together and working on organizational problems, is one type of solution. Another type of solution is better approaches to in-service education: there are some examples that go under the label of coaching and support that are very effective. What this does is instead of emphasizing in-service education for teachers in terms of just more resources and more workshops, it says, 'How do we design a series of meetings?' Let's say we have six half days, and the previous time those six half days or three full days might be used all at once for three days of full training and then expecting people to use something. Now those three days would be spread out and they would meet half a day once a month for six months, let's say. The first half they would get some ideas, they would try them out, and the next meeting they would come back and they would talk about how they worked. Teachers would help each other, there would be somebody who was an expert, and it would be more of a process of interaction spread

out over several months with some information and help. So what those are I think are types of solutions. And finally there are some solutions, not solutions but other examples of trying to address the problem, and that is requiring and helping schools to develop a plan. There's a tricky thing here, right? My own interest is in implementation, what happens in practice, and there is a real paradox here, or irony, because what some school systems have done now is they have required their schools to develop a plan and the schools then are going about developing the plan, and the big problem, the question we always get asked now, is how do I implement the implementation plan?

9.4 A brief comment on the points raised by Matthew Miles and Michael Fullan

The points raised by Matthew Miles in the interview include the following thoughts relating to school-based organization development:

- Development in schools today is less a matter of improving communications, tackling relations, and other such typical elements of classical OD, and more a matter of focusing improvement work on specific problems. Miles is doubtful as to whether OD is an entirely appropriate label for the latter approach.
- OD work is not only initiated locally; it can in theory be initiated at all levels of an education system.
- OD sets out to improve the general health of the organization concerned.
- The outcome of OD can be assessed in terms of how far the problem-solving capacity of the organization improves.
- OD is a change strategy which can be applied irrespective of the context.

As far as the first of these points is concerned, I am not sure that the term OD is not equally relevant regardless of whether the change strategy focuses on feelings and relations or on specific problem areas. Miles himself describes the latter approach as socio-technical, and this can be taken as indicating that OD in the field of education is basically following the same trend as OD generally, i.e. away from a social psychological focus and towards a more socio-technical emphasis. (See chapter 1. Cf. also Schmuck's views on the future of OD on p. 49, point 4.) The

essential question here, however, is to what stimuli in the environment of the organization the change strategy concerned is a response. This brings me to the second of the above points. Earlier in this report I pointed out that OD is a change strategy with its origins in industry. A firm is ultimately governed by more or less unpredictable market forces, and therefore has to be organized in such a way as to be able to respond to this changeability in its environment (market). OD is a strategy tailor-made for an organization with this kind of control structure. Schmuck's model on page 63 illustrates the same control model applied to the sphere of education. This model is presumably reasonably relevant in North America, where many schools have a control structure reminiscent of that found in business organizations (cf. 8.2.2). Applying this model implies that school activities are shaped by the interaction of the school and its immediate environment. To refer back to the third and fourth points set out above, a 'problem' can be defined as a lack of fit between the demands of the environment ('the market') and the school organization's actual activities. Improving the health and problem-solving capacity of the organization entails, in simple terms, dealing with this imbalance. Miles's claim that school problems giving rise to OD interventions can even be defined 'at the level of the ministry' (p. 82) is in my opinion somewhat problematical. In the terms used in this report, this would appear to imply a greater emphasis on mandator control and correspondingly less emphasis on market control. The problem is then no longer defined by the interaction of the school and its immediate surroundings (or market), but at a *political* level, where the definition of what constitutes a problem is shaped by political considerations.

In other words, the theoretical model (the systems model) on which OD is founded - and which itself presupposes that an organization is governed by market forces rather than a mandator's intentions - is hardly applicable if the problem is defined at the political level. Miles clearly takes the view that OD is a change strategy which can be employed irrespective of the nature of the control structure. It must surely be an accepted fact, however, that OD is a systems-based change strategy. One conclusion reached in this report (chapter 8) is that if control of an organization cannot be explained in systems terms, a change model resting on a systems philosophy can hardly be applicable either. The substantial

content of the change model used must be compatible with the forces basically constituting the organization, i.e. its control structure. Our 'DO' model of which Miles is critical is not, therefore, mere playing on words or inventing a new set of jargon. We could in fact give our model any label we chose; but, regardless of the label, its substantial content is a focus on a number of critical factors which have to be taken into account if we wish to bring about development in a mandator-controlled school system.

To turn now to Michael Fullan's comments, it can be noted that he - unlike Miles - essentially concurs with the views set out in this report. However, he believes that our criticism in a sense amounts to 'flogging a dead horse', since the OD movement is dying out in North America. According to Fullan the change approach which has replaced OD is in line with what we term DO. OD has failed to change North American schools, in Fullan's view, but he is not sure whether this is a consequence of a change in control structure or whether other factors are behind it.

The question that may be raised here is whether the change strategy which has taken the place of the traditional OD approach in North America is a socio-technical variant of OD (cf. Miles) or whether it really does correspond more closely to what we term DO.

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